

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



L. XV

No. 5

THE GUARANTEE OF VICTORY

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT AND THE CATHOLIC MASSES

By FRITZ LANG

THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP OF LENIN AND STALIN

By N. RUBINSTEIN

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HITLER'S WAR POLICY IN GERMANY

By W. ULBRICHT

THE WORK OF THE 11th INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE IN SPAIN

By F. DAHLEM

TWO ARTICLES ON CHINA

By WANG MING and MAO TSE-TUNG



A Brilliant Analysis of the American Political Scene and World Affairs

The Democratic Front

FOR JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

BY EARL BROWDER

Report to the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party,
U.S.A., on Behalf of the National Committee

In this historic report, Earl Browder makes clear the main political problems confronting the people of America today, and the immediate tasks of the Communist Party. He deals extensively with the offensive of reaction and the building of the democratic front for the victory of the progressive forces in the 1938 elections, with the problem of winning America for a positive peace policy, with the question of brotherly cooperation with the Catholic masses of America on issues of common interest, and with the building of a mass Communist Party in the spirit of the glorious revolutionary traditions of America.

This magnificent report deserves the broadest distribution, speaking as it does in the interests of the workers, farmers, professionals and all other strata of the toiling population of the United States.

96 pages. Price 10c

FRANCE OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

And Her Mission in the World

BY MAURICE THOREZ

Report of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of France to its Ninth Congress, held at Arles, France. In it, Thorez indicates the path to victory over fascism and war, and toward the final objective, socialism.

128 pages. Price 20c

Order from your local bookshop or from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D

New York City

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

VOL. XV

MAY, 1938

No. 5

CONTENTS

May First Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International	411
The Guarantee of Victory GEORGI DIMITROFF	415
The Struggle Against Hitler's War Policy in Germany W. ULBRICHT	420
Women in the Struggle for Peace and Liberty, Against Fascism B. CATTANEO	432
The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Catholic Masses FRITZ LANG	438

The Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People

The Military-Political Work of the Eleventh Interna- tional Brigade F. DAHLEM	445
Program of Joint Action of the Spanish Trade Unions	455

The Struggle of the Chinese People for National Independence

For the Consolidation and Extension of the Anti-Japa- nese National United Front CHEN SHAO-YUI (WANG MANG)	461
Interview Given to a Correspondent of the "Sin-Jun- Hua-Pao" MAO TSE-TUNG	466

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC., P. O. Box 148, STATION D, NEW YORK CITY
Subscription price: one year \$1.75; six months 90 cents. Single copies 15 cents.

Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China	473
---	-----

The Soviet Union

A Great Friendship N. RUBINSTEIN . . .	476
--	-----

The International Labor Movement

The Strike of the Paris Metal Workers T. ALVAREZ . . .	487
International Solidarity With the Austrian People	491

The Struggle Against the Trotskyite Agents of Fascism

The Resolution of the Mexican Trade Unions Regard- ing Trotsky and Trotskyism R. PAGE ARNOT . . .	495
The Friends and Enemies of the Soviet Union on the Trial of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites". C. FRIEDRICH . . .	499

May First Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

PROLETARIANS and working people of all countries!

The First of May is the day of international working class solidarity. In this year 1938, the May Day review of the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat takes on a special significance, full of militancy.

Not at any time since the end of the World War has the international situation been so tense. A fourth part of mankind is once more in the grip of war. Fascist governments, having robbed and enslaved the masses of their own people, are bursting into the territory of others. By attacks upon other nations, by armed robbery abroad, they attempt to stifle the rising indignation of the working people within their own countries.

To escape from their difficulties at home, from the bankruptcy of the fascist regime, they are seeking salvation in wars of adventure abroad. These fascist warmongers are dragging the human race into a slaughterhouse, into a new imperialist world war.

In the Far East the fascist military clique of Japan is waging a war of conquest against the Chinese people for lordship over Asia, for domination of the Pacific. Cities of ancient culture are laid in ruins, thousands of villages given to the flames, tens of thousands of the peaceful population of China shot down by the Japanese executioners.

But the heroism of the four hundred millions of the Chinese people is not to be broken by the executioners. Rallying ever closer together in a united national front, the Chinese people are inflicting severe defeats on the Japanese aggres-

sors. Defending themselves, the Chinese people have made of their bodies a living shield for all the nations of Asia, and are inspiring all the colonial peoples for struggle against their oppressors.

In Spain the hordes of the German-Italian intervention are raging. Powerless to break the stubborn resistance of the Republican Army, they are basely wreaking vengeance on the peaceful population of Spain, raining death from the air upon thousands of women and children. For nearly two years the Spanish people have been fighting with epic courage for their independence against the fascist powers in coalition—with tacit support from reactionary Tory circles in Britain.

Abandoned by bourgeois-democratic governments, the Spanish people staunchly defend their democratic republic against the combined forces of world reaction. Defending their liberty, they defend the cause of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind.

Emboldened by the impunity with which it could carry on intervention in Spain, German fascism occupied Austria. By their suppression of the armed struggle of the workers in 1934, by depriving the working people of elementary liberties, the ruling classes of Austria had prepared the ground for the invasion of German fascism.

Already German fascism, without having succeeded in firmly settling itself upon Austria, is preparing an attack on Czechoslovakia. Together with Polish fascism, it strives for the occupation and partition of Lithuania. It is crouching for a spring upon the Balkans, menacing

their existence as states and their national independence. It threatens Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. It surrounds France with a fascist ring and plans to take it unawares with a sudden blow. Like a beast of prey, it scours far and wide to procure raw materials, material resources, and human reserves for a large-scale war against the land of socialism.

Whose is the responsibility for this brazen insolence and murderous activity of fascism, for the war conflagration they have raised in various parts of the globe? The responsibility lies with the reactionary clique of British Conservatism. Not a finger did they raise when the Japanese militarists attacked China. They are only waiting for the military exhaustion of Japan to raise the question of the partition of China. With Italian fascism they have made an arrangement—to bring about the strangling of the Spanish people. To German fascism they lent their aid, giving it the possibility of rearmings. For them it is a bloodthirsty ruffian, a “strong-arm man,” to be used against the international working class and the democratic movement of the people.

They gave their blessing to its invasion of Austria. Stealthily, covertly, they direct it toward the east, against the land of the Soviets.

Responsibility also lies with the French reactionary bourgeoisie. By capitulating to German fascism they helped to give it strength. Like the conspirators of Coblenz, in the days of the French Revolution, the French reactionaries have plotted with German fascism against their own people.

These dark forces dictated to the Blum government the policy of the blockade of republican Spain. The bloc of British and French reactionaries dragged in the wake of its pro-fascist policy the leaders of the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals, who remain inactive in the face of the German and Italian intervention in Spain.

The responsibility for the blood, suffering and sacrifice of the Spanish peo-

ple, for the bandit onslaught on China, for the military occupation of Austria, lies not only with the fascist scoundrels, but also with those who tolerate and assist them.

Fellow workers!

The ruling classes basely deceive you when they say that it would be in the interests of the maintenance of peace to reconcile yourselves to the strangling of the Spanish people, the enslavement of China, the subjugation of Austria. It is not by permitting the war instigators to plunder and slaughter other peoples that wars are avoided. Wars are averted by a firm policy of curbing the fascist brigands in good time.

You are being told cynical lies when it is stated that the governments of Britain, France and the U.S.A. are “powerless” to put a stop to international fascist banditry. To stop this banditry is well within their power. But this requires the adoption of the proposal of the U.S.S.R. for joint action of all states interested in maintaining peace against the instigators of war.

They must reinforce their action by measures of economic pressure. Let them deprive the fascist bandits of credits, let them refuse to provide them with the raw material necessary for the conduct of war, let them close the channels of trade to them, let them put under blockade not republican Spain, but those who have attacked it. Let them open the frontiers and furnish the Spanish people with the possibility of freely purchasing arms, and this will be enough to ensure that fascism draws back like a whipped cur.

Put no faith, comrades, in those who assert that you have not at your disposal the means whereby to make governments conduct a policy of struggle against the aggressors. The working class, filled with the consciousness of struggle, is a tower of strength. It, and it alone, carries on the work of pits and plants, of fields, factories and workshops. Without the working class no train is moved, no steamer sails, no ship is laden, no one can hush the voice of thousands of demonstrators.

But, brother proletarians, for your strength to be brought into action requires working class unity. It requires that in your organizations there be no treachery at headquarters. It requires that your struggle be not broken by those labor leaders who are agents of the British bourgeoisie.

Your strength will be multiplied manifold, if all the units of the labor movement fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy, fascism.

Uniting the struggle internationally, you will secure new, unparalleled strength. Rallied together in a united international front, the working class will become the center of attraction for all anti-fascist forces of the world. By its unification it will acquire allies, by demonstrating its strength it will revolutionize them and fill them with confidence in victory. And then the people, misled by the policy of the so-called democratic governments, by the policy of conniving with fascism, will realize their own might, and rise up everywhere against the fascist scoundrels. Then the peoples of Germany, Italy, Japan, sensing the isolation and bankruptcy of the fascist gangs, will take their taskmasters by the throat and then the People's Front movement against fascism and war can assume an unparalleled scope throughout the world.

It is to this path of struggle that the Communist International calls the working people. It has repeatedly called upon the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals to establish an international fighting front. But a clique of reactionary British leaders have obdurately turned down these calls, disrupting united action by the international proletariat. By their splitting policy they have sought to undermine the confidence of the working class in its own strength, to disarm it in the face of the enemy, and thereby they have encouraged the fascists to undertake further acts of aggression.

Working parallel with these leaders went the Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents of fascism, the spying "Fourth International." It was they who wished to re-

store capitalism in the U.S.S.R., to dismember the land of the Soviets, to hand over its peoples to be enslaved by fascism. It was their brood who opened the fronts to the fascist interventionists in Spain, and delivered blows at the rear of the Republican Army. It is they who, on the orders of the Japanese Intelligence Service, conduct work of diversion and espionage in China. It is they who operate far and wide as wreckers of the labor movement and, in the interests of fascism, join with Citrine in the effort to prevent united action by the international working class.

These are the infamous spies, wreckers and murderers, whom such people as Dan take under their wing, making of them a banner for the continuation of their ruinous, splitting policy. By crushing the Trotskyite-Bukharinite gang of warmongers, these base hirelings of Japanese-German fascism, the Soviet people have rendered an inestimable service to the cause of peace, the cause of working class unity, the cause of anti-fascist struggle.

Proletarians throughout the world!

Republican Spain is in danger. The bitterest enemies of the Spanish people have broken through the Aragon front. They are transferring new troops and munitions without a break. World reaction is aiming to achieve the defeat of the Spanish people. But millions of workers all over the world are striving to achieve its victory. They are ready to make supreme sacrifices so as actively to assist in bringing about this victory.

The ways, the means, all the possibilities exist for rendering real and immediate assistance to the Spanish people.

In the name of millions of workers, in the interests of defending the Spanish people, the Communist International again proposes to the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals to establish a united international working class front.

To help Republican Spain, to defend China, means to fight against world war, to defend your hearths and homes, the liberty and independence of your countries, against the fascist butchers. A

people that would permit the strangling of Republican Spain or China, would, with its own hands, be preparing the fascist yoke for itself, would strengthen the chains of its own capitalist slavery.

Comrades!

Come out on to the streets on May First! Take your places in the fighting column of an international united workers' front, of effective aid to the Spanish people.

Arms for the Spanish people!

Demand, workers of France, glorious descendants of the Paris Communards, that the blockade of Republican Spain be immediately lifted. Place yourselves at the head of the international movement for all possible aid to the Spanish people.

Workers of Britain! Compel your ruling classes to end the policy of support for fascist brigandry and the policy of hostility toward the land of socialism, toward all the peoples fighting for their liberty and independence. Break the resistance of those reactionary leaders who in your trade unions and in the Labor Party still oppose international united action.

Demand, workers of the United States, a policy of curbing the fascist violators of world peace, a policy worthy of the traditions of Lincoln and Washington. Demand the immediate lifting of the ban on the export of arms to Spain and China.

Workers of Germany, Italy and Japan! Do not permit your peoples to be transformed into blind instruments of the fascist governments in their plans for butchery. By your resolute movements

and actions, by all means at your disposal, break the robber wars of the fascist scoundrels.

Anti-fascists of all lands! Demand that the forces of German and Italian intervention be driven out of Spain, the Japanese aggressors out of China, the German fascist gangs out of Austria.

Demand the application of economic, political and other sanctions against the fascist miscreants.

Working people, join forces with the proletariat in a mighty People's Front against fascism and imperialist war.

Peoples of Europe, America and Asia! Join with the great people of the Soviet Union in building the international peace front against the fascist cutthroats, the incendiaries of wars of plunder.

Proletarians!

A united working class of the capitalist countries allied to the workers of the land of socialism is invincible. In your unity with the mighty Soviet people lies the guarantee of the crushing of fascism.

Down with fascism, the scourge of mankind!

Down with the warmongers!

Long live international working class unity!

Long live the People's Front of struggle against fascism and war!

Long live the U.S.S.R.—the bulwark of socialism, peace and liberty!

Long live the alliance of the working class in the capitalist countries with the working class of the land of socialism!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Guarantee of Victory

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

THE events now taking place in the capitalist world are causing natural and justifiable alarm among the entire international working class, among all working people, among all honest supporters of liberty and peace.

For a number of years, long before the present outbreak of fascist brigandage, the Communists warned the masses of the people of all countries about the far-reaching plans of aggression of the fascist rulers.

As far back as 1933, the Communists described the advent of the German fascists to power as a prelude to wars of conquest and pillage. In 1935, in a resolution of its Seventh World Congress, the Communist International declared:

"The adventurist plans of the German fascists are very far-reaching and count on a war of revenge against France, dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, annexation of Austria, destruction of the independence of the Baltic states, which they are striving to convert into a base for attack on the Soviet Union."*

The truth of what the Communists stated has now become clear to millions of working people. No one can now dispute the fact, first, that the fascist aggressors—Germany, Italy, the military-

imperialist clique of Japan—are the chief incendiaries of war, the brigands who are attacking peaceful peoples; second, that the fascist aggressors operate with the tolerance or outright patronage of the reactionary elements of the bourgeois-democratic states.

Before the eyes of the whole world the fascist brigands are insolently carrying out their plans of conquest, thrusting mankind into a new world imperialist slaughter. The seizure of Manchuria by the Japanese militarists, the subjugation of Ethiopia by Italian fascism, the intervention of Germany and Italy in Spain, the new invasion of China by the Japanese army, the annexation of Austria by German fascism—all these are bloody milestones in the ever-growing offensive of fascism.

The fact that all these baneful acts of aggression go unpunished whets the appetites of the ruling fascist gangs to the uttermost limits. Having seized hold of Austria, German fascism is already preparing to fasten its fangs into the Czechoslovakian republic.

Through his agency in the Sudeten region, the Henlein party, Hitler is brazenly provoking internecine war within Czechoslovakia as a prologue to the blow. He is conspiring with the Italian, Polish and Hungarian fascists regarding the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

Having stationed a considerable part of its army in Austria, German fascism is attempting to draw Hungary into its sphere of influence, is raising its hand against the independence of the Balkan peoples and is striving to trample Tur-

* "The Tasks of the Communist International in Connection With the Preparation of the Imperialists for a New World War," in *Resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 41, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

key underfoot in order to revive the old plans of German fascism regarding the strategic Berlin-Bagdad route.

At the same time negotiations are in progress between the German and Polish fascists regarding elimination of the small Baltic states and conversion of their territory into a base for attack on the Soviet Union. It is intended that Lithuania shall be annexed by Poland and that the other Baltic states shall be partitioned in such a way as to give Poland the southern part of Latvia and Germany Danzig, Memel and a protectorate over Esthonia. According to these plans, Riga is to be converted into a "free" port, actually into a city under the heel of fascist Germany.

But actually the plans of conquest of German fascism do not stop at this. After the "annexation" of Austria, Belgium was the scene of open Nazi demonstration in Eupen-et-Malmedy, where a demand was raised for incorporation of these districts into Germany.

The German fascists are raising the question of "rectifying" the frontier with Denmark. The agents of German fascism are lifting their heads in Sweden and Norway. Finland is swarming with spies and military emissaries from Germany. The disruptive work of the fascists goes on apace in Switzerland and Holland.

* * *

The fascist dictators of Germany and Italy are holding a demonstrative conference in Rome. They are aiming at all costs to crush the heroic struggle of the Spanish people as the prerequisite for encircling France, for entrenching themselves on the Mediterranean and for securing favorable positions for the world war they are preparing.

While a treacherous blockade is clamped upon the Spanish republic, their airplanes and artillery spread death and destruction on a monstrous scale over the soil of Spain.

And particularly shameful in the face of this piratical attack of the fascist aggressors who directly menace the

cause of world peace, the existence and independence of a number of countries, is the policy pursued by the governments of the bourgeois-democratic states.

It must be frankly stated that the British "diehards" and the reactionary circles of the same breed in other bourgeois countries in actuality abet the foul deeds of the German, Italian and Japanese robbers. Can there be any doubt that but for the Tories' policy of toleration, Italian fascism would never have been able to crush and conquer Ethiopia? Can there be any doubt that but for the blockade imposed by them on the Spanish republic, the heroic people of Spain would long ago have driven the fascist interventionists out of their country; that but for the direct support of the British Tories, the German fascists would never have resolved on the annexation of Austria?

Is it not clear that resolute action by the great powers against the Japanese militarists would have rendered impossible their bandit invasion of China?

All that was needed was for the governments of Britain, France and the United States to agree to the proposals repeatedly made by the Soviet Union regarding joint action by the countries interested in the maintenance of peace, and the fascist aggressors would have been curbed. All that was needed was for these governments to refuse credits and raw materials and to cease to trade with the fascist pirates, was to make it possible for the Spanish and Chinese people to acquire arms for the defense of their countries and their independence, and the international offensive of fascism against the liberty and independence of the peoples would have been brought to a halt and its onslaught against world peace averted.

Then the fascist governments, isolated and, as it were, politically quarantined, would have stood out before their own peoples as bankrupts and the fascist regimes would have become the objects of a crushing attack of the wrath and hatred of the masses of the people of their own countries.

However, instead of such a policy, which completely tallies as well with the interests of the people of Britain and France, the British Tories and French reactionaries are arriving at an agreement with the fascist aggressors to entangle the Spanish people, are betraying Austria and Czechoslovakia, are making a mere bagatelle of the interests and independence of the small peoples, and are striving to direct the aggression of fascism against the great land of socialism, the powerful buttress of the liberty and peace of the world.

They need the fascist dictators to play a part of the bloodthirsty gendarmes in the struggle against the international working class and the democratic movements of the peoples of the world. This policy of British and French reactionaries, without the support of the cowardly hucksters and stock market sharks who to save their last cent of profits would like to buy off the fascist brigands at the expense of others.

And did the fate of the small peoples, the fate of Europe and the fate of world peace, depend on these reactionary, pro-fascist circles alone, German and Italian fascism would undoubtedly have fulfilled their plans of bloody conquest.

But forces exist in the world which are capable of preventing this, and are in a position to break the back of fascism everywhere and for all.

II

The superficial observer sees only one side of the developing events, the offensive of the fascist aggressors, the pro-fascist sections of the bourgeoisie of other countries bowing and scraping before them, and the noise and clatter of tub-thumping fascist press.

But in actual fact, there is another side to these events—the movement of the working class against fascism and the upsurge, the indignation of the masses of the people against the policy of toleration is gathering strength, the peoples threatened by fascist aggression are on the move, and the anti-fascist forces are closing their ranks in the

various countries and on an international scale.

Thus two opposite processes of development of international events are taking place. Whereas the reactionary dominant capitalist circles of the countries of bourgeois democracy are inclined more and more towards a deal with the fascist aggressors and the application of a pro-fascist policy at home, *the forces of the struggle against war and fascism are growing throughout the world.*

For almost two years the Spanish people have been waging a supremely heroic struggle against the coalition of the forces of fascist intervention. Every aggravation of this intervention gives rise to a new wave of national enthusiasm in Spain, to the consolidation of the People's Front, which is demonstrating its unbending will to carry the struggle to a victorious conclusion.

Rallied together in a united national front, the great Chinese people are displaying exemplary steadfastness, courage and fighting ability in the struggle against the insolent Japanese invaders.

Each new act of aggression by the fascists arouses among the working class and the wide masses of the people the desire to hasten the establishment of a united People's Front of struggle against fascism and war.

The annexation of Austria evoked a mighty wave of widespread mobilization of the Czechoslovakian people against German fascism which already immediately threatens the integrity and independence of the Czechoslovakian Republic.

The fate of Austria has also given rise to extreme alarm among the Balkan peoples who have no desire to become victims of the inroads of German fascism in the Balkans. They have no desire to lose their independence as a state, to fall into economic servitude to the fascist conquerors and to allow their countries to be transformed into a highway to Bagdad.

The occupation of Austria has aroused indignation among wide sections of the public of the United States of America.

It has also opened the eyes of those sections of the people in Britain who were formerly quite indifferent to fascist aggression. The increasing opposition to the policy of the British government has assumed huge proportions. A widespread movement has begun in Britain in favor of establishment of an anti-fascist People's Front.

In the fascist countries themselves, despite the bloody terror, and beneath the apparent stability of the fascist regime, the anti-fascist forces are growing, opposition to fascist aggression and the kindling of new imperialist wars is on the increase. These forces still lack the requisite solidarity and organization to come out more openly. But thousands of underground rivulets of discontent and indignation against the fascist dictatorships are sapping the foundations of the rule of fascism.

The working class—the master of the fate of millions—has not yet said its final word. Nor have the peoples who desire neither fascism nor war.

III

All this goes to show that even at the present stage of growing aggression of the fascist states, *it is still not too late* to thwart the bloodthirsty plans of fascism. The fascist warmongers can still be strait-jacketed.

What does this require? First, the fascist aggressors must be *isolated internationally*. They must be deprived of fire and water. The time has come finally to understand that the fascist aggressor uses every concession only for new, foul blows. A firm policy of isolating the fascist aggressors on an international scale presupposes the application of resolute measures in each separate country to curb those reactionary forces which betray the interests of their own people and support the plans of conquest of German and Italian fascism and the Japanese militarists.

Second, a consistent peace policy must be put into effect by all the states interested in the maintenance of peace. All states calling themselves civilized must

honor the international obligation they have undertaken. An effective policy of collective security must be put into effect by employing the instrument of sanctions, economic, political and of other types, against the aggressors. The application of such sanctions against the fascist governments of Germany and Italy which have attacked the Spanish people, and against the fascist militarists of Japan, who have invaded China, is an imperative necessity.

Third, *united action by the international proletariat* must be undertaken both as regards immediate struggle against the aggression of the fascist states and as regards pressure on the governments of these bourgeois-democratic states to insure that these governments pursue a firm policy towards the aggressors. The best way to conduct a successful struggle against the international aggression of fascism is by uniting the forces of the workers on an international scale. But to achieve such international united working class action, it is necessary to break the resistance to this unity on the part of the reactionary leaders of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, like the Citrines.

In its effort to bring about united action of the proletariat on an international scale, the Executive Committee of the Communist International in its May Day manifesto renewed the proposal repeatedly made on previous occasions to the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions to establish an international united working class front.

In the face of the tense international situation, and conscious of the enormous responsibility that lies on the working class, the Communist International is ready to support any honest initiative, whatever its source, as long as it assists in bringing about united action by the working class.

Of special significance at the present time would be joint action by the working class organizations of Britain and France in defense of the peoples sub-

jected to fascist attack. Such joint action by the proletariat of two of the most important countries in Europe would, even though it were of a partial character, give a mighty impulse to the successful development of united action by the whole of the international working class.

Fourth, a firm, indissoluble alliance must be established between a united international working class and the great Soviet people. This people, trained by the mighty Party of Lenin and Stalin in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, is the most consistent and resolute fighter against fascism. By crushing the Trotskyist-Bukharinist gang of spies, diversionists and murderers who strove to bring about the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., the dismemberment of the Land of Soviets, the enslavement of its peoples by the fascist states, the great Soviet people not only strengthened the cause of socialism, the defensive power of the U.S.S.R., but also rendered an inestimable service to the cause of peace and liberty, to the cause of the unity of the international working class.

Strong in the gigantic scope of its socialist construction, in the high fighting capacity of its Red Army, in its moral and political unity, the Soviet people—rallied around the Communist Party, the Soviet government and Comrade Stalin, leader of the working people—is a powerful support for the work-

ing people of the whole world. *United with the working class of the Land of Soviets, the working class of the capitalist countries is invincible.* And this power will be all the greater, the stronger and closer are the bonds of international solidarity linking the working class of the capitalist countries to the working class of the land of socialism.

"The international proletarian ties," says Comrade Stalin, "between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class in the bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country must be organized in the event of a military attack on our country; and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in the bourgeois countries must be organized."*

Let these splendid words become food for thought for every proletarian, for every honest fighter against fascism and war. Let them become the flesh and blood of the international labor movement.

In the unswerving and resolute fulfillment of this principle of Stalin's lies the guarantee of the victory of the international proletariat.

* See "A Letter from Comrade Ivanov and Comrade Stalin's Reply," in the March, 1938, issue of *The Communist International*.

The Struggle Against Hitler's War Policy in Germany

BY W. ULBRICHT

THE occupation of Austria and the increased intervention in Spain show that German fascism is preparing world war at a rapidly growing pace.

After the seizure of Austria the encroachments of the fascist aggressors on the peaceful countries and peoples have still further increased.

And those who think that the crazed people in Wilhelmstrasse can be talked over or that they should be allowed to rob some countries unhindered in order to calm them down do not see the real motive forces of the fascist war policy. The real rulers of Germany are the munition king Krupp, the coal baron Thyssen, the owners of the steel trust, the chemical trust, and the new, big shareholders and directors of the banks, members of the fascist party.

During the period of Hitler's domination the number of millionaires in the war industry increased by 1,200. Many of these new millionaires, fascist tricksters, who have been robbing the state coffers since January 20, 1933, expropriated rich Jews, and by making money out of the "provision of work" have drawn a rich harvest from Hitler's war policy. They took good care to lay their hands in good time on batches of profitable shares in the war industry. Goering himself has become one of the biggest shareholders of one of the war trusts.

The introduction of the "Fuehrer" principle in limited liability companies has led to the decisive voice in business belonging to only the biggest capitalists, whereas both the small and middle capi-

talists are in actual fact being removed from the affairs of business. In the decisive circles of the German bourgeoisie a definite realignment has taken place as a result of which there is an increase in the power of the most reactionary imperialist elements, whereas certain sections of the capitalists have been driven out of their former key positions.

The German bourgeoisie, the German fascists, are hastening on the preparations of a war of conquest against the bourgeois democratic countries and against the U.S.S.R. so as to be able to use a wave of jingoism wherewith to overwhelm the resistance of the people, for with the increase in the forces of the friends of peace and the successes of the People's Front movement in other countries, and of the successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the desire of the German people to overthrow fascist barbarity is growing.

Many people ask how it comes about that fascism is able to mislead millions of people with its jingoist slogans, as for instance was the case in connection with the occupation of Austria. Partly, this is still the result of the crushing of Germany's national dignity, of the insults and indemnities forced on the German people by the Versailles Treaty. All this was made demagogic use of by Hitler and for a long time made it possible for him to carry on the preparations for a war of conquest under the guise of "defending Germany against the Versailles powers."

But the military intervention in Spain,

the fact that the German people have been drawn into military adventures along with Mussolini, and the campaign of lies against the land of socialism, are giving rise among the workers and wide sections of the people to alarm at the prospect of a war of adventure, and to opposition to the fascist rulers. It is becoming more and more clear that what is at issue is not the honor and safety of Germany, but the robbers of other people, the destruction of the labor movement in Europe, the provocation of a world war, a war full of danger and menace to the vital interests of the German people.

The Ministry of Propaganda led by Goebbels has in the recent period intensified its slander against the U.S.S.R. About this, the workers are saying: "It is time the Soviet Union was left alone; let us rather talk about Germany."

During the trial of the anti-Soviet 'Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' the fascist press was full of the most savage slander against the Soviet Union. And when the workers said:

"If the Nazis take up such a line in support of the Trotskyites, it means they have something in common with Hitler fascism, and the Soviet court did right in dealing ruthlessly with them."

Hitler's preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. demand of the Communist Party of Germany, and of all anti-fascists, a considerable improvement in the propaganda concerning the successes of socialism in the Land of the Soviets, the indissoluble bonds between the cause of the people of the U.S.S.R. and the struggle of the working class and of the whole of progressive mankind. This propaganda must be made to increase and strengthen among the masses of the people a profound love for the Soviet Union and for its great wise leader, Comrade Stalin.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE ARE BECOMING
INCREASINGLY ALARMED AT THE
PROSPECTS OF WAR

As a result of Hitler's military intervention in Spain, it is becoming clearer

to wide masses of the people that the fascist warmongers are not concerned with the defense of Germany, but wish to rule the roost in other countries. The masses have learned, through the radio, of Germany's supply of war materials to Franco. The people talk of the dead German airmen and of the soldiers belonging to the technical units sent to Spain, and the question invariably arises: "Why don't they print lists of casualties?" Cuttings from the fascist press containing news regarding the "sudden" deaths of leaders of the defense units pass from hand to hand. The workers say: "Had it not been for Hitler and Mussolini there would not have been any revolt or war in Spain!" "What have the Germans lost in Spain?" "Why, Spain has not attacked us."

The economic difficulties in Germany are more and more frequently being referred to by the people in connection with the expenditures on the intervention in Spain. The slogans of the Communists and other anti-fascists: "Butter instead of guns for Franco!" "Increased wages instead of millions for Franco!" etc., are discussed throughout Germany. The fascist intervention in Spain is unpopular not only among wide sections of the population, but also among certain circles in the army. Many workers take a direct part in rendering active aid to Republican Spain. There have been many illegal collections of money for the Spain of the People's Front. Workers have gone even from Germany itself to play their part in the International Brigades.

Since Hitler's intervention has taken place in Spain the whole of German economy and the entire life of the country have been adapted to the needs of war at a terrible speed. This has also increased the alarm at the prospects of war. The people are saying: "Things are moving towards war." During the aerial maneuvers and when Mussolini came to Germany, people in conversation called to mind the sufferings of the last imperialist war and asked: "Are we to have it again?" "Is war really here?" During

the aerial maneuvers in Berlin-Neukoelln, a leaflet was circulated containing the question: "What are German airmen doing in Spain?" News of the horrors of the war in China and in Spain also give rise to awful memories of the World War.

During the militarization of the Rhineland and the introduction of conscription a strong wave of chauvinism spread over the country, but when the Spanish port of Almeria was brutally bombarded by German warships, people began to ask one another in fear: "Is something going to happen?" And later, during Mussolini's visit, the alarm at the prospects of war was reflected in the "whispering campaign" directed against military adventures.

In the interests of his preparations for war Hitler exerts every effort to popularize his friends in the "Berlin-Rome-Tokio Axis," and to fill the minds of the people with the idea of the military might of Germany and its allies. But despite intense advertisement and expensive festivals, he has not succeeded in this. The masses speak of Mussolini's perfidy in 1915, and circulate quotations from his anti-German articles of that period. Everywhere people sing and whistle "You cannot be true to me, oh no, even though your lips promise love until death." People say: "Why, the Italians are poverty-stricken themselves."

The state of mind of the workers found expression in a slogan written on the walls of a factory in Essen: "Hands off, you butchers! The Spanish people will decide their fate themselves!" At a certain pit in Dortmund, a miner wrote the following on a pit-truck: "The tyrants of Berlin and Rome have started a drive on Spain!" In Western Germany a leaflet was circulated containing the following words:

"It is not for Germany, not for our people, no, but for Italian imperialism and fascism that shamefully betrayed us in 1915, that the sons of Germany have again to shed their blood [in Spain—W.U.]."

Even in petty-bourgeois and bourgeois circles people are giving thought to the problem as to where all this will lead. People are scared at the risk connected with the fascist war policy. As regards the Goebbels propaganda about the military might of the allies of fascist Germany, certain bourgeois circles are saying: "We have known this since 1914," or else: "When the point comes Germany will again prove to be isolated." The workers say: "We have already experienced the meaning of war once, and we have had enough," and they tell the younger generation of the horrors of the World War. They also tell them how to behave in case war breaks out. Some say: "I shall dodge mobilization," while others say: "First give me a rifle, and then I'll know what to do with it," or else: "When war breaks out we shall turn our arms in the opposite direction."

Even in the army and among the officers loud expression is given to doubts regarding Hitler's policy as regards allies. Military literature directs attention to the danger of a military defeat in Germany.

Hitler has been making tremendous efforts of late to place fascist officers as rapidly as possible in key positions in the army, to put an end to the independent role of the Reichwehr leadership in the army and to extend the influence of fascism there. As a result there is an intensification of the contradictions among the officers, among whom the intervention in Spain is not always popular, and where practically no significance is attached to Hitler's war allies. The discontent among various sections of the population continues as hitherto to influence soldiers and many officers.

True, after the military occupation of Austria, the alarm at the prospect of war has been partly eliminated by a wave of jingoism. Hitler and Goebbels succeeded in arousing a particularly strong wave of chauvinism during the days of the so-called plebiscite. The fact that Hitler has been able hitherto, as a result of the capitulation of the bourgeois democratic countries, to carry through his plans of

conquest without a big war, has temporarily had its effect. But the question is increasingly being put: "How will all this end?"

Under such conditions the central task facing the Communists and all anti-fascists of Germany is to show the masses that this war policy of Hitler will lead inevitably to endless misfortune and sacrifices by the German people, to the ruin of the country. The task facing Communists and all anti-fascists is to call the masses to save the country from the crimes of the fascist warmongers, and to show that the vital interests of the German people can only be secured by peaceful means, within the bounds of the system of collective security, as a result of friendly relations with other peoples and primarily, with the U.S.S.R., the land of socialism. But this requires that the Hitler regime be overthrown, that the fascist millionaires who have made their pile out of the war industry, the only people who are gaining from the misfortune of the German people, be driven out.

In view of the great sacrifice demanded of the German people by fascism in the interests of its war policy, the question must be put again and again: "What is it all for?" And we must explain who in fact has an interest in the war, we must show that the oppression and robbery of other nations have nothing in common with the honor of the German people, but only serve the interests of the fascist exploiters.

The Communists must counter blind Angloism by convincing the masses that Hitler is an aggressor and adventurer, and that no other people has any intention of attacking Germany.

We German Communists have no desire to see Germany helpless and with its honor lost. Our people must defend themselves against possible attacks from without, but this requires that our people be themselves free and that they themselves decide, through a democratic government, the question of their armed forces, of their own people's army. But the German people are now enslaved,

the governmental power and the empire's military resources are completely in the hands of a crazed clique of warmongers.

The present tasks in the struggle to avert war are in the closest degree connected with the tasks that will arise in case it proves impossible to avert war. Especially will the struggle for peace be conducted then as a struggle to overthrow Hitler fascism and to secure liberty for the German people. This requires that the foremost anti-fascist fighters in Germany should now *already* be popularizing reminiscences of work in the army during the imperialist war, of the organization of strikes in munition works, and of the movements of the working people connected with food supplies. Anti-fascist fighters must strengthen the sense of international contacts with the U.S.S.R. and with the freedom-loving and progressive forces in other countries.

INCREASING TERROR AND GROWING OPPOSITION

The fascist leaders sense the danger to their war plans of the gradual awakening of the masses of the people. Himmler, chief of the Gestapo and the Guard units, delivered a speech to Reichswehr officers on the subject "The theater of military operations within the country," while Rosenberg made the statement at Nuremberg that the desire of the people for liberty constituted a tremendous danger for the National-Socialist regime in case of war. Hitler is strengthening his military and terroristic machine to the utmost, but at the same time the opposition to the unbearable oppression and innumerable burdens is also growing. The army is being drilled and transformed into a submissive instrument of fascism. At the same time discontent is increasing even among the Storm Troopers and among civil servants.

Hitler is intensifying the terror not only against anti-fascist workers, but also against peasants, the middle classes, Catholics, and supporters of the Evangelical Church, against scientists and

artists. The whole world regards with horror the way the executioner's axe is depriving the German people of their best sons. The number of concentration camps is ever on the increase; prisoners on completing their terms of punishment are not released, but are kept as hostages; hundreds of priests are arrested; arrests even take place among Reichswehr officers. And even employers are more and more frequently coming into conflict with Goering's laws, and being punished.

In the German press news more and more frequently appears regarding trials of peasants. One peasant, for example, was fined 500 marks for using grain to feed his cattle.

In order to secure the rear in case of war, Catholic and Evangelical youth organizations are banned in fascist Germany, and many church societies are disbanded. Gangs are organized in the factories to guard them against possible strikes, while police functions are given to the so-called "Blocwarte" (representatives of the fascist party to keep watch on the inhabitants of given districts), and "air-raid defense units."

With the aid of "Goering's plan" fascism squeezes considerable resources out of the population, creates reserves in case of war, introduces "substitutes" in a number of branches of industry, etc. But this gives rise to discontent among the masses. The workers are compelled to increase output without receiving any increase in real wages. There is a shortage of butter and fats, a situation particularly hard on miners and workers employed in the heavy industry. Cloth made of woolen substitutes is now being used on a mass scale. The consumption of iron and steel for private purposes has been reduced 25 per cent, thus leading to the cutting down of private building and to an increase of discontent among handicraft workers and merchants, who as it is suffer from the shortage of raw materials and the introduction of substitutes.

Certain bourgeois circles are dissatisfied with the compulsory measures of the

fascist rulers, with the numerous and senseless expenditures of the state and municipalities, etc. These circles also contribute in the armament expenditures. They demand that taxes and levies be cut down, that the expenditures of the state and municipalities be limited, that the country's finances be put in order. Even capitalist circles demand that the pace of armament building be slowed down, that the compulsory economic measures be abolished, and raise the question of the risk connected with war.

Thus, the social base, the base of the military-fascist Hitler party in Germany is gradually growing narrower and narrower.

Ever wider masses of the German people respond to the fascist terror, to the burden and oppression of Hitler's war policy by using all legal possibilities of resistance. The dissatisfaction of the masses is not limited to partial questions; it is directed against "the rule of Goering." Phrases are to be heard such as "Goering's jam," the new fish sausages are called "four-year plan sausages," while the poor quality bread is called "Goering bread," etc.

The most important means of increasing the power of resistance of the people is to develop solidarity, mutual aid for the struggle against the common enemy. A miner recently stated: "The spirit of comradeship is what needs to be implanted, and then we will soon succeed in driving out this gang." The spirit of comradeship among the workers is developed primarily in the factories thanks to agreements regarding rates of output and war-rates and also aid to the families of arrested people. Communists and Social-Democrats come to agreement with one another regarding the carrying through of semi-legal and occasionally illegal collections of money. Catholics and Communists also render one another mutual assistance. In one town members of a group of office employees and intellectuals each contributed five marks a week for the families of arrested comrades.

Hostility and enmity towards informers are developing on a wide scale. In the factories the workers warn one another against spies. In some departments the workers establish such an attitude towards informers that the employers are compelled to remove them. There are owners of stores who help their customers to recognize spies and their ilk. Peasants act together in their struggle against "Imperial Food Estate" inspectors and warn one another when they appear. The arrests of many Catholic priests have also given rise to a wave of solidarity with those arrested. With the sabotage of Catholic processions by the fascists, Communists and Social-Democrats demonstratively participate in the processions, their point of view being that the struggle of Catholics against religious persecution is a matter near and dear to all friends of liberty.

In a certain town the Gestapo arrested a Catholic priest, and then eighteen local inhabitants. The peasants set off to A., expressed their protest to the authorities and by their unanimous action secured the release of the pastor and the eighteen arrested. Near the Church of St. Anne in Berlin, there were courageous people who gathered signatures in favor of the release of Priest Niemoller. In spite of the threat of arrests, hundreds of people huddled together so as to put their signatures to the declaration.

The international solidarity of the people of Germany is expressed primarily in the numerous collections taken for Republican Spain and in the spontaneous defense of the French People's Front and the Soviet Union against the slander spread by Goebbels. But the strongest impression is created by the steadfastness displayed in court by Communists. At a certain big trial where several of the accused were under the threat of death, a certain houseowner was brought in as a witness, but he made an excellent statement about one of the accused. Thanks to this the death sentence was replaced by a prison sentence. Another expert said to an acquaintance of his after the trial: "The Communists

fight fearlessly to the last breath. You can't help respecting them!" One of the accused sentenced to death said in his final word at the trial: "I know that my head is at stake, but I am also perfectly well aware that your heads will also fly off soon." This courageous behavior of the Communists creates an impression even among fascist circles. During a discussion by some women of the sentences passed at a certain trial, the leader of a fascist industrial women's unit said: "Such people as X. remain the same as they have been, Communists, even after they are liberated."

Thus, courage, solidarity, comradesly steadfastness and mutual assistance among anti-Hitlerites create a wide basis for the increase of the activity of the working class and all friends of liberty and peace.

RALLY TOGETHER ALL THE ANTI-FASCIST FORCES IN GERMANY

Under the influence of the threatening danger, the unbearable sacrifices and exploitation, and also as a result of the accumulation of experience which makes it possible to secure the rallying of the anti-fascist forces and the defense of the interests of the people in fascist conditions, the process of the mustering of the anti-fascist forces has begun. Everybody seeks to find those with similar views. Not only do the Communists attempt to establish closer contact with one another and with the Party, but various anti-fascists in some places address themselves to the Communists. In Social-Democratic circles and among intellectuals, among oppositional bourgeois circles and even among the youth, there is a marked urge towards the concentration of forces. The immediate basis of this is alarm at the prospects of war, alarm at the sacrifices and privations demanded, and the striving for liberty. And for the first time we see quite a close connection between the demands put forward in the sphere of material and living conditions and the political demand of liberty and opposition to Hitler's war policy. This increase in the activity of

the anti-fascist forces and their gathering together still take place very slowly because of the furious terror and for a number of other reasons. One can see how people carefully test the political outlook of those who surround them.

The problem of the mustering of forces is to convince the masses of the need and possibility of saving Germany from the fascist military adventures and the need to resist fascist barbarity. The bold People's Front policy advanced by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International must be carried through in Germany as well by trying unremittingly to bring about the unification of the working class and to muster forces in the anti-fascist People's Front. The great task facing the anti-fascist movement for the People's Front in Germany and abroad is to develop this initiative of the mass.

For a long time conversations of a general character took place among active anti-fascists regarding the need for the People's Front, but now the anti-fascist forces in Germany have gone further. They issue illegal propaganda slogans, and then, with the aid of legal slogans of action, develop in the mass organizations the living policy of the People's Front; for example, in connection with the military intervention in Spain, Mussolini's arrival in Germany, the aerial maneuvers, etc. Heinrich Mann, the well-known German writer, chairman of the committee to establish the People's Front, had every reason in this situation to speak of the "birth of the People's Front."

The People's Front is the common struggle of the working class, of working peasants and of all the anti-fascist democratic forces against fascism, for the salvation of Germany against the military adventures of fascism, for peace, liberty, bread. To enable the masses to be set in motion, what is required is agreement and collaboration between Communists, Social-Democrats and supporters of anti-fascist trends in the ranks of the former Center Party, Democrats and other groupings, and also well-

known German writers and scientists. As distinct from the People's Front in countries where legal parties exist, the People's Front in Germany conducts its struggle by securing agreement among the anti-fascist forces regarding mass work in the German Labor Front, in the sports organization, the army, "air-raid defense units," the Hitler youth, etc.

But the unification of all anti-fascist forces will only be possible when the organizations, groups and officials of both workers' parties, the Socialist Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Germany, come to agreement regarding joint action. Decisive significance for carrying through opposition action on a wide scale is assumed by the joint work of Communists, Social-Democrats and Catholic workers in the fascist mass organizations. If the working class, thanks to this joint struggle, comes forward openly, as for example to some extent among the miners, this will give the other democratic forces in the country a new impulse to struggle. Every delay, every obstacle to comradely collaboration between the working class organizations, this class-conscious, steadfast forces of the anti-fascist struggle, will hinder the unification of the anti-Hitlerites—peasants, middle classes, intellectuals and bourgeoisie.

In view of the acute danger of war, and the fascist influence over the masses of the youth, the forces of the People's Front must strive to secure that all workers, and workers' wives, all working people in factories, in the German Labor Front, in the sports organizations, etc., establish comradely relations with young people and exert systematic influence over them in the spirit of liberty and peace.

Whispering campaigns are to a great extent a means of bringing about close relations between anti-Hitlerites, and the first stages of their active collaboration.

In the factories "whispering" goes on regarding the profits of the munitions magnates, the behavior of the Labor Front bureaucrats or of the high-priced

jewels worn by Goering's wife. As regards the "Heil Hitler" cry, people quote a couplet which says: "The German worker, full of woe and care, instead of 'Heil Hitler,' only says 'good day.'" There is a proverb now circulating against the collections for the "winter aid" fund: "Whether you can or not, give, everything is wanted for guns."

The whispering campaign is the first stage to the struggle for the free exchange of opinion. The fascist press is already compelled to carry on a constant struggle against the slogans spread by this means of propaganda. It should be the immediate task of the political collaboration between Communists and Social-Democratic comrades to arrive at agreement regarding the slogans of the moment spread from mouth to mouth.

THE MOVEMENT OF RESISTANCE AMONG THE WORKERS

A step forward by comparison with the "whispering campaign" is the exchange of opinion at factory meetings under the auspices of the German Labor Front. Several movements reflecting the resistance of the workers show the significance of these factory meetings where the workers make reference to decisions regarding wages, the promises of Labor Front leaders, or simply their own needs, and defend these demands in a businesslike fashion. At one of these meetings, where a factory manager spoke of the impossibility of raising wages, an old worker took the floor and, quoting from an official fascist newspaper, gave facts regarding the profits of shareholders, the extent of their dividends.

The *Bergarbeiter Zeitung* reports that of twenty-five given cases of action by miners against the introduction of overtime, in fifteen cases the starting point was a pit meeting organized on the demand of the miners themselves. When the management, at certain pits in the Ruhr, such as for example Minister Stein and Aschenbach, demanded the introduction of a Sunday shift on the grounds that this would help to fulfil Goering's four-year plan, a strong protest movement

began among the workers. A whispering campaign developed, and the workers came to agreement with one another. The miners in these pits, singly and collectively in small groups, expressed their discontent to members of the Council of Representatives and to the foremen. The workers refused to work this Sunday shift, which by the way was not to be paid for. A whispering campaign extended through the pits, the workers saying: "There's plenty of money in the country for Franco, but there's none for us. We have to work till the sweat runs from us, without receiving anything extra even for Sunday work. We'll not go down the mine."

Under pressure from the miners, the members of the Council of Representatives demanded of the management that the workers be asked individually whether they wanted to work on Sundays. The word was spread from mouth to mouth that it be turned down. The slogan "Refuse!" made the round of all the pits. At the Minister Stein pit, 83 per cent of the miners voted against the Sunday shift, while at the Aschenbach pit about 80 per cent did so. After this the management of the Victoria pit did not put the question to the vote at all, and the attempt at the Sunday shift fell through.

In addition to legal leaflets, leaflets were circulated in the pit addressed to anti-fascists and giving a detailed plan of action. In one such leaflet (Ruhr) we read:

"Make use of every promise of social betterment made by the fascists to extend the struggle. Demand again and again that promises be fulfilled. Draw into your discussion workers who still support the National-Socialists. Help them to come back again into your ranks. Don't isolate the Labor Front officials, and representatives; try to draw them into the struggle, carrying on a resolute struggle against the workers' enemies among them. Fight to secure allowances for fats for workers doing particularly heavy work. Carry on a struggle for the right to vote in the factories. Demand again and again that general meetings be

called and that discussion and voting be permitted there."

It is in such primitive legal forms that the struggle is now going on for the rights and demands of the workers. The workers make their starting point Labor Front slogans, such as: "He who produces must demand!" and add to this: "Our incomes can be increased not by raising productivity, but by higher wages." National-Socialist workers say: "We want our share of the increased output in the shape of increased wages." Or else: "When output is increased we also should be compensated." The workers are more and more frequently demanding of the "representatives" that they defend their interests, and frequently address complaints and demands to the Labor Front. This is how the way is being paved for collective action and protest movements on a wider scale.

A protest movement recently began in the Saar region against the attempt to increase the working day in the mining industry from seven and one-half to eight hours. Legal leaflets were circulated against any increase in the working day. Although the workers protested in the separate shifts, they failed to prevent the increased working day being established. The discontent increased when the management refused to pay for non-working days and holidays and demanded that the workers work on Sundays to compensate for these "holidays." Everywhere, the workers demanded the calling of general meetings. Delegates were sent from six pits to defend the workers' demands before the leader of the regional fascist organization. Everywhere the following verses appeared in the pits as slogans:

*The ox, the donkey and the cow
Rest on Sundays.
But you, poor Saar miner
Work on Sundays as well.*

At general Labor Front meetings the key slogan put forward was: "Let's have a vote against Sunday work and for payment for holidays." A vote had to be

taken, and of 43,000 miners, 40,000 voted for these demands. This example shows that the distribution of leaflets containing such slogans as correspond to the wishes of the workers help to give rise to wide protest movements.

In Ruhr and in Upper Silesia the workers have frequently succeeded in securing that a vote is taken at general meetings. At pits in the Ruhr the workers protested against the high contributions to the unemployment aid fund, on the ground that it was stated that unemployment no longer existed. The workers secured a reduction in the contributions to the unemployment insurance fund and an increase in pensions for invalids and aged miners.

The demand for allowances for fats is assuming great importance in the miners' struggle. At one pit the day shift refused to go down the mine until an allowance was fixed for the purchase of margarine.

As regards action at war factories, the following example is worthy of note. An accident took place at a certain munitions plant as a result of which three lives were lost. The workers demanded:

1. An investigation into the causes of the accident;
2. The publication of a truthful report of the accident in the press;
3. The payment of the difference between the wage earned and the benefits paid, and also the payment of an allowance to cover the expenses of the members of the family;
4. That flags of mourning be hung out;
5. That the workers be paid for the time spent at the funeral.

At another factory active anti-fascists mobilized the workers in support of such demands as payment for overtime, additional vacation for trips organized by the Strength in Joy society, provisions of working clothes, etc. These demands were supported by Labor Front officials and passed on to the management. Although only part of these demands were satisfied, this movement strengthened the confidence of the workers.

In the A— department of a certain chemical plant a terrific speed-up was required of the workers. The workers stated that they were no longer able to bear this and put forward the following demands:

1. The provision of working clothes by the management;
2. Half a liter of milk per day;
3. One extra worker to be added to every two machines;
4. Workers to be transferred to other departments every week so as to be able to recover somewhat from the way they were being sweated;
5. An increase of 25 pfennigs in their wages.

The management only agreed to supply working clothes. Then the workers went to a member of the Council of Representatives who undertook the defense of points 3, 4 and 5. Thus, the workers first established unity in the department so as then gradually to secure the satisfaction of their demands.

These examples show the varied character of the movements of protest. To lead the workers to protest movements on a still wider scale, it is necessary that Communists, Social-Democrats and Catholic workers come to agreement regarding partial demands not only in the given department, but also advance legal slogans in the German Labor Front, affecting entire plants and branches of industry. This struggle within the Labor Front for demands and rights is the chief precondition for wide protest movements and movements affecting food supplies, and at the same time creates the precondition for strikes in case of war.

THE DISCONTENT OF CATHOLIC WORKERS, PEASANTS AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

The recent months in Germany have seen a process of the strengthening of the anti-fascist forces in connection with the rising movement of the Catholic masses. In Cologne 70 young Catholics and priests were arrested on a charge of distributing illegal leaflets. Formerly Catholics and Protestants displayed great mistrust towards Communists,

but now this mistrust has been overcome in the process of the common struggle.

In the villages the struggle is directed against the Hitler militarization of economy and the compulsory measures applied. The peasants compare the present state of agriculture with agriculture during the imperialist war. Their protest is primarily against the Imperialist Food Estate bureaucrats. At one meeting, for example, the peasants said: "We don't need outsiders, we ourselves know what to do. We want to settle our business ourselves."

In certain villages milk inspectors are no longer allowed into farmyards on the ground that they spread epidemics as they go from farm to farm. The widest form of opposition in the village is the refusal to fall in with the compulsory supply of products. Many peasants make the open statement that they are unable to supply products at such low prices, and ask why they receive such prices whereas the products are sold in the towns at such high prices. Since the Imperial Food Estate headquarters have everywhere forbidden the feeding of cattle with grain, the peasants say, "Let the state first give us fodder and then we will give them more grain." On this basis they give nothing at all. The legislation regarding the militarization of economy is directed against the entire mass of the peasantry, including rich peasants. All peasants are indignant at the introduction of the official "homestead" card that tells them what to sow and what to hand over to the state. The peasants say that these cards deprive them of the right to the decisive voice in their own farms.

The opposition among the middle classes is shown in the demand that the organizations of these sections of the population should have the right to defend the interests of their members. First and foremost they demand an increase in the rate of profit and a reduction in levies and also the reduction of the turnover tax to half a per cent. They

say: "We are not allowed to express our opinions." At one meeting of handicraft workers, the reporter said the following in reply to the numerous expressions of dissatisfaction at Goering's legislation:

"I know that all these instructions that have appeared in recent years have given rise to much discontent among you. In Berlin, in the central headquarters, letters are also received of a business and personal character in which the demand is chiefly made on us that we protest against such measures, and in all these letters we are asked to bring our fist down on the table with a thump!"

The *Westphaelische Landeszeitung* gave the following reply to the desires of the middle classes to increase their rights:

"At the present time we are again viewing with horror how the number of organizations threatens to increase without limit. In places where two people come together for some common purpose, they already imagine that other people are interested in the same sort of thing, and as a result they establish a club or, to use a word that sounds nicer and loftier, an alliance or league, not to mention the fact that they call themselves a society without having any right to do so, although this society is an end in itself."

These words show that the middle classes are striving to hold together. The fascists promised handicraft workers all kinds of blessings, but they have set about the gradual liquidation of handicraft workshops, so as in this way to secure skilled workers for the war industry. Between January 1, 1936, and October 31, 1937, 74,335 handicraft workshops were liquidated.

ABOUT THE FATE OF GERMANY

Although the discontent of the masses of the people of Germany is assuming ever wider dimensions, although the alarm at the prospect of war is on the increase, although the anti-fascists have learned better to conduct the struggle

inside the mass fascist organizations for their rights and against unbearable burdens, still the idea continues to exist among the German people that Hitler can continue his aggression against other people even without war.

In view of this the immediate task facing all German anti-fascists is to secure that the masses understand how terrific is the pace at which Hitler is driving Germany to war. If the resistance of the Spanish and Chinese peoples to fascist intervention has already shown that free peoples are able successfully to defend their countries with arms in hands, Hitler's provocation of war in relation to Czechoslovakia may set alight a world conflagration in which Germany itself will become the battlefield. Therefore, German Communists exert all their efforts to make the masses understand the prospects of the fascist provocation of war. It means sacrifice and privation for the German people at the cost of a further armaments race, war, the ruin of the country. The only way to avert war is by the German people themselves conducting a struggle for their liberty and by overthrowing the power of the warmongers; the only way to avert war is by putting into operation the words passed on from mouth to mouth by workers, peasants and intellectuals, when they say: "We need a government of the people," "The people ought to be in power."

Were the German people able themselves freely to determine their fate, then in place of the crazy armaments race they would create all the conditions for the satisfaction of the peaceful needs of the country and thereby raise the well-being of all the working people. And what would happen if, instead of the slander and lies against the Soviet Union, streams of which fill the pages of the Goebbels press, we were to have peaceful collaboration between a free Germany and the Soviet Union? What would happen if by conducting a policy of collective security and peaceful trading relations with other countries Germany were to find an increased market for its high quality goods? What would happen

if instead of the billions expended on building fortifications and luxurious palaces for fascist bureaucrats, living quarters and rest-homes were built for the working people of Germany? What would happen if instead of the policy of autarchy and compulsory farming, the peasants were given freedom to manage their farms as they want? What would happen if the German people were not weighed down by the menace of war and were able to build their lives in peace and safety thanks to the conduct of a real peace policy?

But the hatred directed towards the democratic powers and the land of socialism and the plans of conquering them that fill the minds of the German fascists, industrial magnates and landowners are increasingly urging Germany to war. The occupation of Austria, the isolation of France, the acts of provocation against Czechoslovakia—all these are links in the single chain of the strategic preparations for the fascist crusade. All the greater then is the significance of the consistent peace policy conducted by the Soviet Union, and of the might of the Workers and Peasants Red Army, for the salvation of peace. Therefore, the struggle against Hitler's war policy requires of the entire movement for the establishment of a German People's Front, that active support be rendered the Soviet Union, and that unanimous resistance be offered to the lies spread by Hitler and Goebbels regarding the land of socialist democracy. Fascist propaganda faces the German people with the question: "Why do we live?" and answers: "We live to fight and die for Hitler Germany." But we

Communists reply: "No, this is not the meaning of the lives of our people. We have no desire to die for those who are raking in profits on armaments; we wish to live for liberty. We wish to live in a Germany happy and strong in the liberty of its people, happy and strong in its social progress, and in the respect won by our country throughout the world by its services to the cause of progress of the whole mankind. We desire a Germany where freedom of speech reigns, where well-being and culture provide the guarantee of a better life for the people. Therefore, the power of the tyrants, the power of the warmongers, must be overthrown!"

This can be achieved by united action on the part of the German People's Front now being established, by the unification of all the forces of liberty and democracy for the struggle for a democratic republic in which the people themselves decide their fate. Therefore, the Communist Party of Germany, in face of the occupation of Austria, and the grim menace of world war, stretched out its hand to all those Germans who want peace and liberty, who wish to save Germany from the horrors of war. The Communist Party of Germany has addressed an appeal to all workers and peasants, to intellectuals and members of the middle classes, to Social-Democrats, Catholics and Protestants—opponents of Hitler both in the former bourgeois parties and in the army—to join forces in defense of the interests of the German people against the fascist warmongers, for the struggle to save Germany from Hitler's crazy provocation of war.

Women in the Struggle for Peace and Liberty, Against Fascism

BY B. CATTANEO

THE women's movement for peace and liberty, against fascism, has assumed ever-growing dimensions in the last few years.

The war of aggression in Spain and then in China, the bombardment of the civil population, the mass murder of children, women and old people—all this has given rise to intense indignation among women throughout the world.

Outstanding women belonging to various sections of society, to various political trends, have adopted a position of support for Republican Spain. Participating, for instance, in the first delegation of the International Women's Committee Against War and Fascism that set off for Madrid were Isabella Blume, the Belgian Socialist M.P., and Martha Huysmans, daughter of the Socialist chairman of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. They determined on this step despite the fact that at that time among the people with whom they mixed the views were widespread that "the cause of Spain is the business of the Spaniards themselves," that "revolts are always taking place in Spain" and that it was not worth attaching any significance to Franco's revolt.

This first delegation was followed by others. Spain was visited by representatives of the British women, Eleanor Rathbone, Mis Paye, Ellen Wilkinson, Isabel Brown and others; a delegation went to Spain including the French Catholic Germaine Mallaterre-Sellier; Dutch women including Selma Mayer

went there; Swedish women including Sonya Branting, Norwegian women, American women, etc.

Quite a number of women, guided by humane and noble motives, have not hesitated to declare their willingness voluntarily to go to Spain as nurses, doctors, etc. Some of them have given their lives for the anti-fascist cause. In November last year a delegation of the International Women's Committee with supreme emotion honored the memory of a young French nurse who was buried side by side with other dead heroes in the little graveyard of Fuencarral near Madrid. Women filled with the noblest of feelings have made their way to Spain from all parts of the world. We have seen American, Swedish and even Australian women traveling through France accompanying traveling hospitals, supplies of medicaments and dressing materials, etc.

The biggest women's organizations have not hesitated for a moment to express their attitude towards the events in Spain; they have overwhelmed the governments of their countries and the League of Nations Council with resolutions and manifestoes, and have sent delegations with the demand that energetic measures be taken against the aggressors, that the Spanish frontier be opened, that the lawful government of Spain be given the right to purchase arms, etc.

In these attempts to exert pressure on the governments, side by side with the

International Women's Committee there have been the International Women's League for Peace and Liberty, the League of Mothers and Guardians, the Women's Committee for Peace and Disarmament, the Women's League of Nations Union and a large number of women's national organizations in various countries.

Other organizations, such as the Quakers,* and also some Catholic and Protestant organizations have arranged money collections, food, etc., in aid of women and children of Spain.

Women throughout the world have given considerable material aid to Republican Spain. Thousands of tons of clothing, milk and medical supplies have been gathered together by women and sent to Republican Spain. Thus, for example, the French National Women's Committees Against War and Fascism and the League of Young French Girls carried through a very successful "milk day" for Spanish children; on March 3 the women's committees of the Frontier districts of L'Herault and L'Aude organized a "bread day." As a result of this collection, about 20,000 kilograms of bread were sent off to Spain. The Women's Committee of Telegraphic Employees

Paris took over the patronage of 72 Spanish children in France, and to this end collect over 25,000 francs monthly. The International Women's Committee in regular receipt of money, even from Africa, from organizations having patronage over Spanish children. In addition the French and Belgian sections of the committee provide regular aid to two children's homes in Catalonia. Other sections organize aid for refugees, for the wives and children of international brigades volunteers fighting in Spain, and take part side by side with other anti-fascist organizations in all campaigns in favor of Republican Spain.

The Quakers are a religious sect that came into being in England in the seventeenth century. There are Quakers now in a number of countries, organizations pursuing purely humanitarian and pacifist aims.

In addition to the various campaigns, collections of money and products in aid of the Spanish people, progressive women throughout the world have also been able to render aid to the heroic Chinese people. The campaign for the boycott of Japanese goods has been joined by numerous women's organizations, and apart from them by millions of women in England, America, Holland, Belgium, France and other countries. Women displayed particular activity at the conference to organize the boycott, called together in London in December, 1937, by the World Peace Congress Committee.

At this conference there was no special women's section: the women took part in all the sections of the congress. Delegates from the International Women's Committee at this congress introduced the proposal to organize material aid for the Chinese people and to intensify propaganda in defense of China against the Japanese aggressors. The International Women's Committee has taken a systematic part in the work of the Society of Friends of the Chinese people and has organized the collection of funds for the benefit of China and has distributed a large amount of anti-fascist literature.

* * *

In the process of the development of all these measures in which increasingly wide masses of women are being drawn, the International Women's Committee Against War and Fascism has continued its struggle for uniting the forces of women, fulfilling the task set by the International Women's Congress as far back as 1934.

In some countries this unification of forces is becoming still closer. Agreements are concluded between various women's organizations regarding joint activity under some one or several slogans. In France, for instance, the slogans are: The struggle for peace, for equal rights for women, against refusing work to married women, against the high cost of living, for the organization of aid to Republican Spain, etc.

The Congress of Catalan Women in 1937 whose aims were clearly formulated in the slogan "Unity and Victory" was a splendid example for women throughout the world. This congress took place in Barcelona in the splendid hall of the Conservatory under the honorary presidency of Luis Companys, head of the Generalidad government of Catalonia. Margarita Nelken spoke on behalf of the Communist Party; representatives of other political parties and trends also spoke. At the congress a "League of Catalan Women" was established, linking up all Catalan women's organizations and groups. Its chairman is Dolores Bargallo, representative of the Catalan left, and its secretary Dolores Pierra, member of the United Socialist Party. This unification of all the women's forces is particularly important in the present serious situation. It shows how far the women of Catalonia recognize their responsibilities and their duty to their country in the struggle against the fascist interventionists.

Of equal importance was the Women's Congress held in Valencia in the second half of 1937. Headed by the noble figure of Pasionaria it showed an unparalleled advance of the political and social activity of the peasant and working women, their confidence in victory and the tremendous readiness of the people to make sacrifices in order to save the country from fascism. At the congress the question was discussed of the more extensive employment of women in the factories so as to replace the men being sent into the army and to the front. This proposal met with the wholehearted support of the women attending the congress. Peasant women delegates from the regions bordering on the front told the congress how they collected the olive harvest under the artillery and rifle-fire of the enemy. The idea of unity was the dominating note at the congress. The explosions of bombs dropped from fascist airplanes, the rattle of machine-guns did not hinder the lengthy discussions at the Women's Congress in Valencia.

* * *

Attention should be drawn to the development of the women's movement in Holland. A great campaign is being conducted there against the so-called Romm Law which prohibits married women being employed. The women's organizations of Holland have arrived at an agreement regarding joint struggle against this law. Closer cooperation is also envisaged in the movement for peace. It is to be anticipated that in view of the serious events of recent times this cooperation will become still closer. The Dutch Committee organized a big campaign in favor of the liberation of the German anti-fascist woman, Lilo Hermann, and is directing its work towards the social demands urgently affecting women.

The establishment in 1937 of the new, rather original organization, the League of Italian Women Emigrés should also be welcomed. This League aims to establish solidarity and mutual assistance among women in all possible forms. More than 300 women delegates attended the foundation congress of this League that took place in Paris on October 16-17, 1937. Now this League has over a hundred branches in the country and about 50 in Paris and its suburbs. Three thousand children attended a Christmas celebration organized in Paris by the League. The rapid and well made-up *Noi Donne* (*We Women*), the paper published by the League, has a circulation of 8,000 copies.

In Czechoslovakia the year 1937 also saw a great amount of activity by women. Very intensive work of organization and propaganda was conducted by the "Jednota," the League of Women and Girls of Czechoslovakia. This organization, for example, conducted an investigation of the market price of goods and circulated all municipal councillors with the results of this investigation, asking them to support the campaign against the high cost of living; in all districts of Prague the "Jednota" organization opened up consultation centers on social and sanitary-hygienic problems and carried through a number of other practical

measures to improve the conditions of women.

The women of Czechoslovakia took an active part in the World Peace Congress Committee. They also took an active part in preparing the National Peace Congress. Collaboration between various women's organizations has become much more close. It is to be hoped that this collaboration will assume a still more businesslike character, for the present serious position in Czechoslovakia leaves no further place for any vacillations whatsoever. All the grounds exist for anticipating that the good sense of the women of Czechoslovakia will triumph here also over all obstacles and difficulties.

The women of Belgium have also won their first successes. They have been able by combining their efforts to repulse the efforts of the government to limit the rights of married women. This campaign was conducted by the joint forces of Socialist, Liberal, Communist and religious-minded women. It is only to be regretted that similar unity has not been fulfilled in Belgium in respect to the defense of peace and aid for Republican Spain.

Yet the women of Belgium surely know the meaning of war, for they lived and suffered through it. It is to be expected that the Belgian Women's Committee will continue its work in this direction. A thing to be welcomed is the fact that this committee is now attempting to draw the working women of the big industrial centers into this work and to unite them into committees, as has been done in France and several other countries.

The women's committee in England, the women of England who have done so much in the sphere of solidarity with the Spanish people, are playing an active part in all the pacifist organizations. They are the most active speakers of the Peace Council, the League of Nations Union, the World Peace Congress Committee, and also such an important pacifist organization as the Women's Peace Council. They recognize that their coun-

try plays a tremendous role in the life of Europe and the whole world, and this is why they set themselves the task of continuing to exert pressure on the Conservative government, to demand the conduct of a firm and energetic policy against the fascist aggressors, against the pro-fascist policy of the Chamberlain type of British Tory, against the Non-Intervention Committee which with its long deception has brought so much woe to the Spanish people; they recognize the need for waging a struggle against fascism and its agents so as to preserve the remnants of the liberties to which the entire British people including women are so deeply attached. It should also be noted that women are playing a big part in the campaign against the policy of Chamberlain.

In the United States of America wide masses of women are also being brought into the movement. The campaign for the boycott of Japanese goods has assumed wide dimensions as has the campaign of aid for Republican Spain. But it is to be regretted that there is no close unity in the U.S.A. in the struggle in defense of peace. There are many women's organizations, but each one of them conducts its work independently, and there is almost no contact between the organizations. Yet unity in the U.S.A. is quite possible of achievement; all that needs to be done is that petty attachment to one's own organization be given up and that the central point be made the desire to bring about the triumph of the common cause for which they are fighting. The proof that unity is possible of achievement in the U.S.A. is provided by the following example. Recently a big women's congress took place in Washington. On the agenda was the question of: "The Cause of War and How to Avoid It." Nine hundred and one women took part in the congress, representing eleven organizations with a membership of fourteen millions. A speech, by the way, was made by the wife of President Roosevelt.

Women are resisting the intrigues of fascism in the colonial countries. Thus,

for example, in Algiers and Morocco there is to be seen the development of the work of women's committees that organize public mutual aid and fraternal relations between Mohammedan and European women. These committees have for the first time been able to interest native women in their work. The committees conducted a struggle against the impoverishment and ruin of the families of local inhabitants, drawing Mohammedan women into the struggle for the improvement of their conditions. In April, 1937, Mohammedan women delegates wearing their veils took part for the first time in a Congress of the Algerian Federation. In Egypt there is to be marked an increasingly lively interest on the part of women in the struggle for liberty and peace, for social demands, etc.

In France, the National Committee unites more than 200,000 members and more than 2,000 committees of which 500 are in Paris and its suburbs. In 1937 many committees were established in factories. Over a million women belong to organizations affiliated to the Women's Committee for Peace and Rights; several millions have been drawn into the women's movement organized around the World Peace Congress Commission.

The French women's movement takes an active part in all large-scale public efforts: it participates in the People's Front, in the campaign of solidarity with the Spanish people, in aid of China, in the campaigns for the liberation of political prisoners, for example, to secure the liberation of Anna Pauker, Liselotte Hermann and Elsa Steinfurt, whom it has been possible to wrest out of Hitler's dungeon thanks to the international campaign.

The French women's movement has succeeded in establishing a stable public base for itself (homes of mother and child, handicraft workshops, etc.). Mutual aid and educational work are conducted here. In various districts of Paris for example and in the provinces special classes have been organized for women, designed to provide them with

the qualifications necessary for their public work (care of the sick, wounded and children). In Paris regular women's classes function whose purpose it is to train women speakers and to improve the public and political understanding of active women.

During 1937 a number of important campaigns took place, including the struggle against the high cost of living, against the raising of the prices of milk and bread, for various social demands, etc. Hundreds of meetings and lectures were organized.

But the women's movement will fail to achieve its task as long as it does not succeed in organized fashion in covering the tremendous masses of French women, particularly peasant women.

The "Fortnight of International Friendship," organized in Paris by the International Women's Committee on the occasion of the exhibition and representing an absolutely new form of work, met with great success. It was organized with the aid of progressive women of various countries. Its program consisted of the study of international and particularly women's problems. Lectures were given by leading members of various women's organizations, and also by representatives of the literary and artistic world.

This "Fortnight" strengthened the contacts already existing between the various organizations, and at the same time enriched the knowledge of the women taking part in it, providing them with factual material of very great use for their further work.

It is worthwhile dealing with the great significance of the "Women's Fortnights" conducted in Geneva during the League of Nations Paris Assembly. Every year international women's organizations gather together there; lectures are given and meetings arranged for the exchange of views. This year the International Women's Committee gathered there while side by side in Avian the National Council of its French section was in session.

All these facts go to show the ever-growing importance of the women's

movement throughout the world. Millions of women no longer have any desire to stand apart from the events taking place; they are taking an active part in political life and in the campaigns conducted in various countries, they are organizing themselves in defense of their interests and needs. Women constitute a great force, and this force makes itself felt in all the events taking place.

But these women's forces will not be effective and militant so long as they are scattered. A study of the programs of various women's organizations shows that very many common points can be found to serve as a basis for agreement and unification.

They are all in favor of the defense of peace. It is precisely on this question, now of central importance, that they can unite and conduct a joint struggle if they really desire the triumph of the cause of peace.

The idea of a wide-scale international conference of the International Women's Congress has long arisen in the minds of many people. The actual threat of world war, the war now taking place in Spain and China, the occupation of Austria, the menace hanging over Czechoslovakia—all these facts favor the calling of such a women's congress where each of the women's organizations will find its place and the possibility of displaying its initiative in the struggle for peace.

What is needed is that this idea win wide circles of women supporters, that all vacillations vanish. All women, all mothers should stretch out their hands one to the other across the borders of their countries and unite their forces so that the children to whom they have given life may be able to enjoy all the good things on earth where peace and liberty shall triumph.

The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Catholic Masses

BY FRITZ LANG

THE Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have frequently approached religious-minded working people, Catholic and Protestants, with the call to join in waging a common struggle against fascist barbarism, war, the offensive of war and reaction.

This appeal of the Communists is beginning to show its first results, and is evoking the sharp resistance of certain Social-Democratic leaders and their press. These same leaders, who during the stormy revolutionary years which threatened the rule of capital, created coalition governments with the Catholic parties and their leading circles in order to save big business; these same leaders who for years and years collaborated in the closest degree with certain Catholic agents of finance capital and "tolerated" the fatal policy of the Catholic statesman Bruening, that was encouraged by Hitler—these same leaders now accuse the Communists of betraying the principles of Marxism and denying the "pure" principle of socialism for the sake of petty political advantages.

It is with make-believe innocence that the Social-Democratic papers raise the question as to why the Communists choose precisely the present time to speak so much of the "outstretched hand," i.e., about the policy of rapprochement with the Catholic masses. The reasons for this are very simple.

The domination of finance capital and the monopolies—imperialism—the gen-

eral crisis of capitalism, the uttermost sharpening of all social-economic and political contradictions—this situation in its entirety which brought barbaric fascism into being, increased the poverty and misery of the masses to the extreme. At an ever-growing pace the process characterized by Karl Marx in the following laconic words is reaching completion before our very eyes:

"Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole. . . ."

Both of these two extremes are entering into ever sharper contradiction. No idle talk of the "common interests of the people," or of the "pre-eminence of the race" can eliminate this fact. Never yet have the peoples of the world, with the exception of the free and happy peoples of the U.S.S.R., been so divided, so torn asunder by inner contradictions as they are now.

The most reactionary circles of finance capital, in whose hands all the riches are concentrated, are striving by means of fascism, by its refined demagogy, by inciting chauvinism and barbaric methods of rule, to aggravate national discord and to enslave free peoples. In the shape of fascism finance capital has

* Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 709, Charles H. Kerr & Co.

created for itself a weapon with the help of which it hopes to break the will to resistance of the masses; and this not only by the gallows, the execution-block, prisons and bestial terror, but also from within—by weakening and splitting the masses.

The recipe with the aid of which fascism, this instigator of war, strives to save the domination of finance capital is to split the masses.

Unless there is working class unity, unity of all working people, strongly cemented and as of iron, there is not, nor can there be a successful struggle against bloodthirsty fascism.

Had it not been for the unity of the proletariat and the working people generally, Spain would long ago have become the booty of Hitler-Mussolini-Franco. Had it not been for the united People's Front, France would long ago have become the hunting ground of Hitler's fascist agents. Had it not been for the growing unity of the Chinese people, China would not have stood out against the barbarian attack of the Japanese aggressor.

It is a firmly established fact that tens of millions of working people, peasants, handicraftsmen, small traders, members of the free professions, office workers, women, youth and quite large sectors of the proletariat not only continue to maintain their religious beliefs, are not only connected more or less closely with the Church, but are also united in a variety of Catholic trade unions, cultural societies and charitable organizations.

According to statistical data published in Catholic newspapers, there are throughout the world: 406,000,000 Catholics; 215,000,000 Protestants; and 104,000,000 other Christians, a total of 725,000,000. And this with a total world population of 2,000,000,000.

If we subtract from the total number of believers that part of the population (children, aged people, etc.), which plays no role in political life and also the large number of people who are accredited with religious beliefs according to registration at birth, but who actually

are not connected with religion, there still remain tens of millions of people with religious beliefs. It stands to reason that the basic mass of these millions are working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population everywhere.

The question consequently arises: should this great mass be left to its own, outside of the realm of the struggle for unity and thus, willy-nilly, actually be transformed into a reserve of fascism? Should these sections of religious people, without discrimination, be termed "a reactionary mass" and be thrown into the clutches of reaction?

To behave in this way would be nothing short of participating in splitting the working people, and helping fascism!

The historical situation, with its imperative demand of working class unity and the establishment of a People's Front, at the same time requires the establishment of correct relations with the religious masses; it demands that they be *taken as they are* and included in the great front of struggle against fascism and war, for the vital interests of all working people.

This then is one of the reasons why the Communists bring this question to the fore "precisely now." But this is not all.

The events of recent years have not passed without leaving their mark on religious-minded working people. Without going into detail, we shall point to but three important events that have exerted an exceptionally strong influence over the process of differentiation among the Catholic masses:

1. The world economic crisis;
2. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, the strengthening of the aggressive activity of fascism in almost all capitalist countries and the acute war danger following from this;
3. The victory of socialism, the victory of socialist construction, the triumph of the most democratic constitution in the world, the Stalin Constitution in the Soviet Union.

The economic crisis has borne down on the religious masses with the same force

as on the non-religious. The religious worker has been thrown on the streets with the same brutality as his non-religious workmate. The earnings of religious-minded workers have been cut with the same ruthlessness as the earnings of atheist workers. Under capitalism, the religious-minded peasant is impoverished to the same degree as the peasant who holds no religious beliefs at all. Believing handicraftsmen, small merchants, doctors, lawyers and writers have found themselves in the same position of want and need as their colleagues who do not believe in God and never go to church.

This economic ruin of the people could not help but influence the religious masses. One has only to cast a glance at any Catholic newspaper in order to find in it a reflection of the horrors of the crisis.

The brute ferocity of the fascist totalitarian dictatorship in Hitler Germany has called forth acute indignation among the religious masses of Germany and throughout the whole world. The Catholic masses have been able, on the basis of their own experience—something that cannot be substituted by any sort of propaganda—to convince themselves of what vile deeds fascism is capable. The abolition of all freedom, including freedom of conscience, the numerous murders, hard-labor sentences, the horrors of the concentration camps, the arbitrary behavior of the Gestapo, the wiping out of all free mass organizations—both of a purely religious character as well as labor organizations—have shown the Catholic masses what fascism *actually* is. The daily acts of provocation by the fascists, their insane armament race, Mussolini's devastating war in Ethiopia, the war of intervention waged by Mussolini and Hitler in Spain, Hitler's rape of Austria and his machinations against Czechoslovakia, Japan's onslaught on China—all these are warning signals for the Catholic masses.

Is it surprising that the religious masses have begun to give thought to the problem as to how the road can be barred to fascism, how a state of quarantine can

be established against the fascist plague, how to defend peace and how to resist the attacks of fascism in the countries where its bloody regime rages?

If the religious masses have on the one hand become convinced of what calamities imperialism with its crises, fascism with its bloodthirstiness, aggression and totalitarian terror and war fever hold in store for them, on the other hand they have given ear to the news that has reached them of the tremendous victories of socialism in the Soviet Union. The slander in the reactionary press against the U.S.S.R., the distortion of reality have not been able to hinder the growth of sympathy for the Soviet Union among religious working people. They have begun to understand that a new social system, a socialist one, has been built on one-sixth of the world, one that knows nothing of exploiters, crises, poverty and distress, or of expansionist designs or attempts to subjugate other peoples. While the Stalin Constitution legislatively consolidates freedom of conscience and freedom of worship, Mussolini speaks of "making short work of the Catholics after our fashion."

It stands to reason that such indisputable facts as the complete liquidation of unemployment, the realization in deeds not words of the basic rights of man—the right to work, rest, education and security in old age, etc.—the unprecedented concern for mother and child, the very considerable aid given to mothers of large families, the tireless and consistent struggle for peace—all of these have made and continue to make a deep impression on the religious masses as well, and have stimulated the process of differentiation among them.

It will not be exaggerating to state that *the Catholic camp is the scene of a deep process of realignment of its ranks*. The struggle of the Catholic masses against fascism in Germany, the position taken up by the Basque Catholics in the struggle against the interventionists and Franco in Spain, the participation of Catholic workers in the big economic struggles in France, the statements of

prominent Catholic leaders in favor of the People's Front and against fascism and war, the anti-fascist writings of well-known Catholic authors such as Bergamin, Honnert, Martin-Schauffier, the numerous letters from Catholic workers to the Socialist and Communist press on the Spanish question—all this is a far from complete list of the facts showing so eloquently that new processes are maturing among the Catholic masses.

Those out-and-out bookworms who dig out all sorts of quotations in order to accuse the Communists of "deviating" from the "pure" principles of Marxism would do well to try and answer the question as to what should be the attitude of Marxians towards masses who are seeking new paths, a new orientation, who are striving to develop political activity. It is clear that the task of the vanguard of the working class is to help these masses groping their way, and painstakingly and persistently to explain to them that the only way out is *joint* struggle for common interests, against fascism, war against the offensive of capital and reaction.

Marxism-Leninism is no abstract theory, no contemplative science which only *explains* the world. Marxism-Leninism considers its task to be to *change* the world. Marxism-Leninism means leadership in mass action. On numerous occasions Lenin and Stalin persistently pointed to this feature, to the very close connection of revolutionary theory with practice, with the everyday struggle. Therefore Marxism is never guided by ready-made schemes; it defines its policy in accordance with the course of the historical process and the development of class forces, in accordance with the regrouping of forces going on among the masses.

When, during the first Russian Revolution of 1905, certain liberation tendencies appeared among the Russian clergy, Lenin wrote:

"No matter how downtrodden and ignorant the clergy of the Russian orthodox church, even they have now been awakened by the thunder of the fall of

the old medieval order in Russia. Even this clergy associates itself with the demand for liberty. . . . We, Socialists, must support this movement. . . ."

This was the attitude of the great Lenin, who all his life fought for the genuine purity of Marxist theory, towards all forms of protest against the existing system of exploitation, no matter what their source.

Let us take an example from today. In April, 1937, Rossaint, a German priest, appeared before the Hitler court. In reply to a question by the presiding judge, the accused clergyman declared:

"In a conversation with Catholic youths I gave expression to the view that National-Socialism means chaos, since it leads to war."

Can we not say with full justice that Rossaint voices the thoughts of the oppressed Catholic masses of Germany who look with horror on the bloodthirsty acts of fascism? And what is there bad in Socialists and Communists establishing close contact with these masses whose sharp protest is expressed by such Catholics as Rossaint and many others of the lower Catholic clergy? What is there bad in establishing comradely relations with them and helping them fully to understand the mechanics of fascism and still more energetically to draw the Catholics into the peace front?

The Basque Catholics are waging an armed struggle against Franco—that hireling of Hitler and Mussolini—for their freedom, democracy and national independence. The mass of the Basque clergy took the side of the people. Was it and is it not the duty of all Socialists, of all who seek the unity of the masses in the struggle against fascist barbarity and war, to do everything possible to establish the closest bonds of contact with religious Basques? Should not the Socialists draw into a fighting front the Catholic masses of the democratic countries who regard fascism with hatred,

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 421, Russian edition.

passionately denounce its aggression and wish to maintain their democratic achievements?

Only people who transform Marxism into lifeless formulae, can suggest to the fighting proletariat that it pay no attention to the religious masses, that it take a supercilious attitude towards them and dictate to them the condition that either they give up their religious beliefs or we shall consider them our enemies!

Quite a number of Catholics and Protestants consider that the Soviet Union is realizing the "ideals of Christianity." One must be both blind and deaf not to see and hear how these masses are increasingly becoming convinced that all working people must rally round the Soviet Union. The fact that the religious masses interpret the colossal victory of socialism in their own way, translate it, so to speak, into their own language, is only one side of the question. But it cannot be denied that their positive attitude towards the Soviet Union constitutes a tremendous step towards uniting the masses, and that the task of the revolutionary proletariat is to do everything in its power to stimulate this positive attitude of the religious masses.

Revolutionary Marxism always considered that the masses must not be ordered about from above, the mass movements do not develop along a straight line, but often zigzag, that traditions are not outlived in a day, that the masses learn from their own experience, and that often it is only through long and painful processes that the masses finally choose the correct road.

The actions of the Communists are based entirely on revolutionary Marxism when they stretch out their hand to the Catholic masses and say to them: "Let us fight together against the common enemy—fascism, against this instigator of war, against the big sharks who suck your blood and ours and who exploit you and us. We do not conceal the fact that our position is that of historical materialism, but at present vital matters are also at issue, matters in which you are

interested just as we revolutionary proletarians are." The Communists do not declare *hypocritically* that they have given up their attitude towards religion. But they do tell religious people that they do not want to see them persecuted for their beliefs, and that they admit their unlimited right to profess their religion.

In his pamphlet *To the Rural Poor* (1903) Lenin wrote:

"The Social-Democrats further demand that everyone have the unrestricted right to belong to whatever denomination he pleases. . . . All of these laws [of tsarism, directed against those who hold religious views other than the orthodox ones—F.L.] are as unjust, as arbitrary, violent and as shameful as can be."*

In his pamphlet, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, published in 1913, Comrade Stalin wrote as follows:

"... The program of the Social-Democrats contains a clause on freedom of religion. According to this clause any group of persons *have the right* to profess any religion they please: Catholicism, the religion of the Orthodox Church, and so forth. The Social-Democrats will combat all forms of religious oppression, be it persecution of members of the Orthodox Church, Catholics or Protestants."**

The defense of freedom of conscience by Communists, their active support of the struggle of the German Catholics against persecution by the fascist state machine is, as we have seen, wholly and completely in accord with the line of revolutionary Marxism.

In reply to the high-sounding words of Dühring about the "ban" on religion, Friedrich Engels declared that "he [Dühring—F.L.] out-Bismarcks Bismarck."*** Engels called this a "specific Prussian Socialism."

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol II, p. 284, International Publishers, New York.

** J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 52, International Publishers, New York.

*** Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 348, International Publishers, New York.

Those militant "anti-clericals" who, to use Engels' expressions, would like to incite their "gendarmes of the future" against religion, who, at a time when it is necessary to concentrate *all* forces against the fascist plague, against the slaughter of the peoples feverishly being prepared by fascism, would like to sidetrack the proletariat from its main task and inveigle it into an "anti-clerical" struggle, in reality only wish to "out-Hitler" Hitler. Actually this would be of enormous service to the fascist scalp-hunters and war instigators. The position of "principles" adopted by the "anti-clericals" is in actual fact, if not conscientious wrecking work done under the influence of the Trotskyites and their confederates, at any rate the expression of their helplessness in face of the complicated, urgent task confronting the entire world proletariat and all working people, namely, the task of conducting an effective struggle against fascism and war, of gathering the masses of people in an iron bloc against the aggressors.

We should not forget that the watchword "Workers of all lands, unite!" advanced by Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, ninety years ago in *The Communist Manifesto*, makes no distinction between religious and non-religious workers, that it calls upon *all* workers to unite against the common enemy who brings them nothing but poverty and distress, slavery and suffering. At present when we are faced with such a subtle, brutal, bloodthirsty enemy as fascism, the unity of the masses of people against the savage bestial brutality of fascism, against its cannibalism and incitation of war, and to achieve its overthrow, is a thousand times more important to us than unanimity on questions of religion.

"Left" phrasemongers would have us believe that we should not fight together with religious people against fascism, for peace, for the defense of the everyday interests of the proletariat and of all working people who are ruined by finance capital!

The Communists are consistent dialecticians

and materialists. Not for one moment do they refuse to propagate and struggle for their aim, namely, the building of socialism. They are persistent in spreading the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and will not allow their ranks to be besmirched by the introduction of alien theories, vague romantic notions and (in the worst sense of the word) "idealistic" phraseology. Their struggle is free even of the smallest dose of sentimentality, of utopian socialism, it rests upon revolutionary theory.

"When we," wrote Comrade Dimitroff, "come forward in defense of religion, against the fascist persecution of believers, we do not retreat from our Marxist world outlook, free of religious prejudices."*

The Communists take great pains in explaining to the masses the correct understanding of religion as taught by Marxism. This, however, does not exclude, but on the contrary presupposes the rejection of all insults whatsoever to the religious feelings of the masses, the establishment of comradely relations with the religious working masses and the conduct of joint struggle with them against fascism, the common enemy.

Those "orthodox" anti-clericals who regard every religious person as an enemy, and would like to advance the struggle against religion to the forefront, are in reality adherents of the idealistic world outlook. They approach the question of religion in an abstract manner, divorced from the specific class struggle, from the specific, urgent and most important task of destroying fascism. Unlike Marxists, they do not take existence—which determines consciousness—as their starting point, but like real "idealists" start from consciousness and imagine that they can change the con-

* See Georgi Dimitroff's article "The Unity of the International Proletariat Is the Supreme Need of the Present Moment," *The Communist International*, November, 1937.

sciousness of the masses without radically changing the social system.

The Marxists understand that:

"... in developing their material production and their material intercourse, people also change, together with the given reality, their thinking and the products of their thinking."*

They clearly realize that religion cannot be "annulled" with the aid of propaganda. These "Left" phrasemongers who accuse the Communists of forsaking Marxism by their policy of "the outstretched hand" have actually never understood Marxism. Their snobbish "anti-clerical" posture is the out-and-out "idealism" so often scoffed at and

* Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *German Ideology*, Chapter I.

ridiculed by the founders of scientific socialism.

The Communists unfurl the banner of the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front, raise this banner higher and higher, extend their hand to *all* the exploited and persecuted by fascism for joint struggle against fascism and war, against the onslaught of capital and reaction, and when doing so do not ask the people about their religious beliefs. Thereby the Communists unfurl the banner of revolutionary Marxism, extend the fighting front, forge the weapon wherewith to overthrow the bloodthirsty enemy of mankind and clear the way for the victory of all working people. No phrasemongering, however "radical" or pseudo-revolutionary it may sound, will ever divert the Communists from this path!

The Military-Political Work of the Eleventh International Brigade

BY F. DAHLEM

A CORRECT and complete picture of the struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist rebels and interventionists cannot be drawn unless one marks the role played by the International Brigades.

The International Brigades are selected units formed of anti-fascist volunteers from all over the world in reply to the call of the Communist International to render practical aid to the Spanish people attacked by Italian and German fascism. The brigades brought with them into Spain of the People's Front the spirit of the genuine international solidarity of anti-fascists, and effective military aid to their brothers in the struggle.

In all the decisive battles against brute fascism, whether in the furious battles for Madrid at the end of 1936 or the beginning of 1937, or in the still fiercer battles in the first days of April, 1938, at Lerida we find the International Brigades in the forefront of the Republican People's Army. Shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish brigades under Modesto, Lister and Campesino, formed out of the Fifth Communist Regiment, the International Brigades in February, 1937, beat off the offensive of the interventionists at Jarama, and in the middle of March turned the attack of the Italian divisions at Guadalajara into the first big defeat of Mussolini.

One of the International Brigades played a decisive role in stopping the panic retreat after the fall of Malaga, near Motrile, in the spring of 1937. Later, in July, 1937, we again see the brigade together with shock divisions in the battles for Brunete. At the end of

August it was the first to raise its victorious banners on the hills of Quinto, Belchite and Mediana. In the severe battles for Teruel we again find it at the most dangerous points. Now we read the words: "Campesino and two International Brigades have been transferred to meet the onslaught of the fascists on Lerida."

At the present time the International Brigades are regular units of the People's Army and consist, to the extent of half and even more, of Spanish comrades. They have maintained their character as the basic brigades of the People's Army, its core.

Each of the International Brigades has its heroic history, and each of its battalions its glorious traditions. Of all these brigades—whether the 11th made up of German, Austrian, Scandinavian, Dutch or Swedish comrades fighting in brotherly unity with Spaniards, or the 12th—the Italian Garibaldi brigade, or the 13th Dombrovsky brigade made up of Czechs, Poles, Jugoslavs, Bulgarians, or the 14th, the French battalion, or the 15th made up of Canadians, Americans and Englishmen—of all these one can say one and the same thing, that their banners are covered with glory, their history an endless chain of heroic deeds of which their peoples may be proud, deeds which will always inspire the youth of their countries and of the whole world.

The history of each of these International Brigades is a page of the struggle of the heroic Spanish people since the beginning of the military-fascist revolt. The history of the International Brigades reflects the history of the People's Army, beginning with the first stage

of its development—the militia—to the present stage when it has become transformed into a powerful regular army, with all the difficulties, fluctuations, errors and defeats following from the political situation inside the country.

The International Brigades exerted quite a considerable influence over the growth of the military and moral strength of the Spanish People's Army.

Below we quote a few examples from the life of only one of them, the 11th International Brigade. These examples give one an idea not only of the composition, of the political and moral condition and fighting capacity of the anti-fascist volunteers but also show what military, technical and political educational problems face the Republican People's Army, what difficulties have still to be overcome in this war.

* * *

The 11th International Brigade with its basic battalions—the Thaelmann and Edgar Andre—was made up in the first months almost exclusively of Communists, mainly Party functionaries and Red Front Fighters of Germany, and of strong units of Austrian Schutzbundlers and of Polish, Bulgarian and Yugoslavian Communists. In the 11th Brigade there were very few German Socialists who had hastened as volunteers to Spain in the teeth of the policy of sabotage operated by the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany. The proposal jointly to organize aid for Spain made by the Communist Party of Germany to the Prague Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany was turned down by the latter on August 4, 1936. And on August 7 in all countries where there were German emigrés, there appeared a manifesto of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany which among other things stated the following:

"We call on all German anti-fascists abroad who have undergone military training to place themselves at the disposal of the Spanish People's Front."

The first German volunteers were already engaged in battle in September,

1936, in the Thaelmann Column near Tartienda; this unit continues to this very day to enjoy merited glory among the Catalanian people. It then set off for Albacete, the base of the International Brigades, where, under the energetic leadership of Andre Marty, the first battalions, which were composed of volunteers who had come together from all parts, hurled to the defense of Madrid.

It is well known that during the defense of Madrid, in the critical days of November, 1936, when the Caballero government hastily quit the capital, a tremendous role was played by the supreme self-sacrifice of the battalions of the 5th Communist regiment and of the battalions of the two first International Brigades (the 11th and 12th) side by side with the courage and heroism of the C.P. of Spain and of the Madrid proletariat organized by it.

On November 8 the Edgar Andre battalion, the first of the International battalions, hurled the fascists who had penetrated into Madrid back beyond Manzanares. On November 19, the Thaelmann battalion replaced the Edgar Andre battalion that had been weakened by heavy losses in University City. On November 20, an attack of the fascists fell to pieces in face of the unswerving front of the Thaelmann battalion, 60 of our comrades paying for this with their lives. But the enemy was no longer able to advance from this side of the Madrid front.

On December 1, in University City, Hans Beimler and the first Political Commissar of the Thaelmann battalion, Louis Schuster, met their death. The funeral procession organized by the people of Madrid in honor of Beimler, the fact that members of the government in Valencia carried his coffin, the participation of hundreds of thousands of people in the funeral that took place in Barcelona—all these facts show how profoundly the peoples of Catalonia and Spain felt their contact with the fighters of the International Brigades. This funeral showed that, because of the sacrifices made by the German anti-fascists, a consciousness had strengthened among

the Spanish people that the German battalions represented the real Germany which has nothing in common with the Hitlerite criminals who menace the liberty of Spain and murder women and children.

Soon after the first battles in Madrid the International Brigades were reorganized, the 11th Brigade consisting of the Edgar Andre, the Thaelmann, and the Paris Commune battalions, and the 12th, the Garibaldi, Dombrovski, and Franco-Belgian battalions.

The severest battles began in the west and northwest of Madrid where Franco undertook an offensive so as to occupy the road between Madrid and Guadarrama. These were days when small battalions offered up resistance to entire divisions of the enemy, and fought them to the last bullet. On December 19 in the fighting at Boadilla del Monte, the Thaelmann battalion despite a tank attack remained in their trenches and scattered the enemy infantry which followed the tanks. In these battles ninety comrades fell on the field of battle, having perished under machine-gun fire from fascist tanks. A shock unit made up of twenty men that covered the retreat of the battalion was wiped out, only one man out of the whole unit emerging alive, the Social-Democrat Pitt from the Saar Region. With his light machine-gun Pitt occupied one position after another and held off the attacking fascists until our battalion was withdrawn to the reserve.

On January 4, 1937, when the fascist offensive was at its height, the Thaelmann battalion took up positions on the Villanueva del Pardillo-Majadahonda road, along the Guadarrama River in the rear of the enemy, and remained there. It allowed two fascist battalions to come up quite close, and then wiped them out. Six hundred fascists lost their lives there. Then the battalion made its way through Escorial back to Madrid. On January 7, near Remisa, the fascist offensive hurled itself with full force on the line occupied by the Thaelmann battalion; a battle unparalleled in its ferocity took place.

For the men of the battalion this day was the severest during the whole period of the war. The battalion lost 110 men and only 38 machine-gunners and 28 infantry men emerged alive, and these wept with anguish and rage. But the force of the fascist offensive on Madrid was broken on that day.

Such is a far from complete picture of the struggles waged by the Thaelmann battalion during the first months of the war in Spain. The same story could be told of other battalions of the International Brigades.

* * *

In the middle of January, 1937, the 11th International Brigade arrived in Murcia, south of Spain, in order to rest and reorganize. From Albacete there came forces — Germans, Austrians, Flemish, Hollanders, Swiss and Swedes. Those who had even slightly recovered from their wounds made their way eagerly back to the battalions. Wounded men came with their bandages. Action had to be taken against this new and peculiar "desertion" from the hospitals to the troops and the fronts.

While "taking their rest" energetic military training began, primarily the training of individual men who had to be taught how to handle rifles, machine-guns, bombs, etc. Exercises took place in open country, in groups, squads, companies. Companies and battalions arranged war games. All the battles around Madrid were analyzed and the latest experience was used to draw lessons as to what tactics were the best in case of tank attacks, what was the best defense against "Junkers" and "Capronis," etc.

This "Prussian" drill, as certain comrades at first ironically called the introduction of strict military discipline, insignias and compulsory saluting, and also the categorical fulfilment of orders, demanded considerable political educational work among the men. Prior to this there was fundamentally no specific military discipline, the firm solidarity being guaranteed by the class consciousness and comradely spirit of the men. Why could this not continue further? Why did "old

timers" who had taken part in the World War once again have to undertake all the exercises with the rifle in open country? This was demanded by the need for a single discipline, the authority of the unit, and the new forces composing the battalions. The cadres of Madrid fighters, experienced in military art, were now joined by young comrades who had worked in underground conditions in Germany, or had come from Austria and other countries, the majority of them possessing no military knowledge whatsoever. In addition to this the 11th brigade began to fill its ranks with hundreds of Spanish volunteers who, it is true, brought courage and enthusiasm with them but had never before held rifles in their hands.

The defeat of the fascist offensive on Madrid was achieved at the cost of tremendous losses. An explanation had to be given to the fighters as to the causes that had given rise to these losses; it had to be explained to them that in war as in the work of illegal parties there cannot and should not be any false heroism and useless sacrifice. Thus, step by step, military work was linked up with political explanatory work.

The battles around Madrid proved that political commissars are absolutely necessary. *The work of the political commissar must secure the fulfilment of military tasks.* As regards responsibility the political commissar is on an equal footing with the commander. The work of the political commissars, the establishment of a strong political department—all this considerably improved the morale and political spirit of the brigade.

* * *

The fighting power of the reorganized brigade was to be tested very soon. The fascists wanted to take Madrid at all costs. On February 10, 1937, a strong fascist shock army under the leadership of the German General Staff suddenly crossed the River Jarama, thus threatening the road to Valencia, the main artery along which came Madrid's supplies of war materials and food. The best of the Spanish brigades, the 11th and 12th, and

the newly formed 14th and 15th were transferred to Jarama.

On February 12 and 13, the men of the 11th Brigade hardly dismounting from their motor trucks on the slopes of Jarama covered with olive trees, had to withstand a terrific onslaught. As many as seven times a day Moroccans and Legionaires, supported by tanks and artillery, attacked the roughly-dug trenches. But the wave of the fascist offensive was shattered by the iron resistance of the brigade, energetically supported by our tanks and by other brigades which arrived soon afterwards.

The military training in Murcia, the well-thought-out tactics of struggle against tank attacks, the unheard-of political and moral strength of the brigade brought their fruits at Jarama, in those battles so decisive for the fate of Madrid.

These sanguinary battles at Jarama, where at first every brigade fought separately, showed the need for organizing joint action by big units of men. Historical significance attaches to the night when the commanders of seven brigades gathered together for the first time; this hour in fact saw the birth of the first divisions and the first real army group.

For four weeks the tired men on the Jarama front did not leave the front line, since the necessary army reserves had not been created as the result of the fatal policy pursued by Caballero. Weakened by losses, tormented by the rain and hunger, everybody hoped for rest and for new reinforcements. But their fighting spirit remained as superb as hitherto: this is shown by the fact that the first issue of the brigade newspaper bore the title, *Pasaremos* (We Shall Pass).

The onslaught of the Italian expeditionary army on the Saragossa-Madrid road soon began. The lines of the Republican army were broken; along a stretch of almost the whole of twenty kilometers the enemy attacked the road with a view to breaking through Guadalaajara to Madrid and completing the circle of the Jarama front.

On March 9, 1937, the 11th Brigade

was transferred from the Jarama front and entered into battle with the vanguard units of the enemy which attacked in four divisions and was made up of 25,000 soldiers, 250 pieces of artillery and 150 tanks. These were heroic days for the Edgar Andre battalion; at the same time they were the most difficult since the battalion was first founded.

The Edgar Andre and Paris Commune battalions shielded the big Aragon road to Trijueque; the Thaelmann battalion was quartered across the side road to Brihuega. The length of the front—the entire brigade then numbered 1,200 men—did not allow for an uninterrupted line connecting the battalions to be established. Thus a gap developed right on the flank of the Edgar Andre battalion. To the right of the Thaelmann battalion there was only the 12th Brigade. Campesino's and Lister's brigades were still on their way on trucks from the Jarama front.

The Italian motorized columns pressed ahead with all energy. They had not foreseen the resistance of the Edgar Andre battalion which shielded the main road. The Italians came under the destructive fire of machine-guns and artillery, and so their offensive was temporarily stopped. Fierce fighting began. During the day of March 11 the Edgar Andre battalion was surrounded on three sides by enemy tanks and infantry. The men held out for several hours until the machine guns went out of action and fell silent one after the other; near them lay the men who had served them, Schutzbundlers who had fallen in battle. The remnants of the battalion—not more than 180 men—and the Paris Commune battalion which joined them from the left were compelled to retreat beyond Trijueque. At night time, brigades arrived from the Jarama front, and the front was strengthened before morning.

This battle in which the Edgar Andre battalion suffered such severe casualties was a turning point in the Guadalajara fighting. Now the tested and tried brigades of the Jarama front undertook a counter-attack. On March 13, the 11th brigade and Lister's brigade recaptured Trijueque and on March 18, Paris Com-

mune day, a crushing offensive was begun by the brigades led by Lister, Campesino, and Mera together with the 11th and 12th International Brigades, supported by five companies of tanks and 80 airplanes. It was only our lack of fresh reserves and of adequate supplies of munitions that saved the Italians from complete destruction.

The utilization of the lessons of the Jarama battles, the splendid results of the collaboration of the brigades linked up into divisions, the joint action of the artillery, tanks, aviation and infantry brought matters to a conclusion. The regular army was born in the battles round Madrid.

The Guadalajara battle saved Madrid.

After the routing of the Italian expeditionary corps at Guadalajara the political commissars in reserve positions discussed with the men the lessons of the Guadalajara fighting. A great amount of explanatory work was carried through in the Edgar Andre battalion where the losses were greatest of all and where the men had had, with their own bodies, to withstand the offensive of the Italians as a result of the lack of reserves and ammunition. The discontent that was about to develop was rapidly overcome. True, the men relieved their feelings by saying: "To the devil with Caballero: he's the one responsible for us having no reinforcements!", "To hell with the damned 'non-intervention, that's what's responsible for the Spanish Republic having to smuggle in from all countries such rubbish as these old machine-guns!'"

The political commissar is the guide, philosopher and friend of the men. He is always in the front line, and there are many cases when the command of units has been undertaken by the commissar when the military commander has been wounded or killed. For instance, Heiner, the present commander of the 11th Brigade, was Brigade Political Commissar. The establishment of this type of political commissar is the great merit of the central political department of the International Brigades headed by such comrades as Andre Marty and Galle.

Political work in the International Brigades was indissolubly connected with the military training and education of the men. The fighting power and moral stamina of the brigade's battalions depended to a considerable degree on how far the military political work was good or bad.

Therefore, Caballero's struggle against the Political Commissars as an institution was a crime against the army and the country. The more subtle, but nonetheless ruinous policy operated by Prieto, by introducing the spirit of "no politics" in the army, was one of the reasons why there were times when the People's Army failed to withstand serious tests in face of the enemy's technique.

Comrade Pasionaria has given a correct characterization of the role of the political commissar:

"Commissars are the political soul of our army; they inspire it with heroism, see to its ideological education, strengthen its faith, and hand in hand with the military commanders lead it to victory. Such an army as ours cannot do without commissars, and their role must not be underestimated."

If the International Brigades, if the divisions commanded by Lister, Modesto and Campesino maintained their fighting power until the very last moment, this is because the work of the Political Commissars (this most important precondition of the fighting power and high morale of the troops) which accompanied strict discipline, was always on a high level in these divisions.

* * *

Up to the time of the battles at Guadalajara a more or less lengthy breathing space again set in at the fronts. In the 11th Brigade, after several days of rest, training began again. Use had to be made of the military experience acquired at Jarama and around Guadalajara, and the men had to be given the line not of defensive tactics but of an offensive war.

The commanders and political commissars were faced with a number of other, new problems. With the development of the Spanish People's Army a

change gradually took place in the original character of the International Brigades. At the beginning of the war the brigades occupied a special position, but now they gradually became component parts of the regular People's Army. They lost their original character of volunteer units as the result of the big losses they suffered and because the new elements brought in consisted in the majority of cases of young Spaniards mobilized on the basis of general conscription, and only to an inconsiderable degree of men of other nationalities.

The newly reorganized brigades consist in greater part, at times to the extent of as much as 70 per cent, of Spanish Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, Republicans, etc.

That is why the question of correct relations between the foreign fighters and the Spaniards inside and outside the brigade became the most important question of the internal life of the battalions.

At the beginning of the war when the battalions of the International Brigade were composed almost exclusively of foreign volunteers, a correct national policy had to be operated towards these numerous groups of foreigners. The most important task now also became a correct approach inside the brigades towards the Spaniards. The fighting power of the International Brigade depended to a considerable degree on how far this approach was correctly made.

In the complicated inner political conditions of Spanish life such a correct international policy could only be carried through if the International Brigades were themselves acquainted with the problems of Spanish policy and merged still closer with the life and interests of the Spanish people.

The concise line of the Communist Party of Spain—the line of the People's Front—was the guiding star in the political training of our cadres and in improving the political morale of the battalions. The International Brigades frequently had to fight shoulder to shoulder with Anarchist battalions with whom it was extremely important to maintain good relations, particularly during the battle. We had to convince the Anarchists of the

community of our interests in the struggle against fascism. We sent instructors to the battalions of Anarchists in order to train them in machine-gun fire and in trench-digging; in several cases we placed machine-gun units at their disposal, thus at the same time assuring our safety from the flanks. During the whole period of the war there never were any serious conflicts between the 11th International Brigade and the Anarchist units.

But far more dangerous was the Trotskyite P.O.U.M. supported by Caballero and carrying on its work legally, which maintained armed terrorist bands in the rear. In its printed sheet the P.O.U.M. openly conducted propaganda for the overthrow of the People's Front government and for an armed revolt.

The demagogic "Left" phraseology of the Trotskyites had to be countered by throwing clear light on the question of the content of our struggle so as to avoid conflicts and demoralization in the ranks of the Spanish and international fighters. The disruptive work of the P.O.U.M. had to be exposed and repulsed.

One of the documents of the Thaelmann battalion includes the following:

"We call on the government to act with the utmost resolution against the traitors to Barcelona. Let there be not the slightest mercy for those who have dared to raise their arms against the people

"Put an end to the Trotsky traitors!
"No punishment is severe enough for Franco's Fifth Column!"

"Forward under the leadership of the new government to the victory over fascism!"

The relations between the 11th Brigade and the Spanish population were always of the very best. The Thaelmann and Edgar Andre battalions were the darlings of the population of Madrid. The same has been observed in other places where there were members of the brigade. This was facilitated by the mass political work done among the population. Usually, as soon as a brigade appeared in any new locality, barns were transformed into clubs, theaters and cinemas, the men repaired the agricul-

tural machines belonging to the peasants, helped the peasants in gathering in the harvest, organized schools for the youth and for the abolition of illiteracy, medical service for the children was provided by the battalion doctors, fraternization meetings took place, etc., etc.

We quote two examples of this mass work.

When the 11th Brigade, worn out and in tatters after the stubborn mass fighting around Madrid, entered the splendid territory of Murcia in the middle of January, 1937, the population at first gave it quite a cold reception. A meeting of military commanders and political commissars immediately took place. Strict orders were issued regarding the maintenance of discipline in the streets, against the superfluous consumption of the good, though strong wine of southern Spain, etc.

Then the Brigade Headquarters Staff invited the representatives of all the organizations of the People's Front to a banquet, which was attended by all those invited except the Anarchists. But they also sent a letter which ended with the greeting: "Vivas las Brigadas Internacionales" ("Long live the International Brigades"). At the banquet speeches were made regarding the common character of the struggle for democracy and liberty, against the common enemy—the fascist interventionists. Speeches were made by Hans, the Brigade Commander, Chief of Staff Ludwig Renn, Nicoletti, the Political Commissar and the Battalion Commanders. Speeches in reply were made in the name of their organizations by representatives of the various parties and trade unions, and by mayors and governors.

In the course of a week a change took place in the attitude of the population, and the brigade now began to meet with the warm reception to which it was accustomed while in Madrid. The municipality organized a special theater performance for the brigade. The United Socialist Youth, followed by the Anarchist Youth, organized festivities with dances, and our lads, who after the severe battles were ready for entertainment, did

their best. We even managed in Murcia to celebrate several marriages between volunteers of the brigade and dark-eyed Spanish lassies.

Here is another example of a much later period, of the period when the brigade was on the Aragon front. The brigade arrived in a district where the peasants had been compulsorily collectivized by P.O.U.M.-ites and Anarchists. It was with great mistrust that the peasants met the brigade volunteers who appeared on the Aragon front with Republican troops. In this case also the military commanders and political commissars discussed the measures to be taken to enable the population to see in us their friends.

Thanks to the work of the foreign and Spanish political commissars it proved possible to convince the masses of the men in the battalions of the need for friendship with the population, of the need to establish normal relations with the Anarchist battalions and to conduct a ruthless struggle against the Trotskyites and provocateurs.

To the extent that the percentage of Spanish comrades in the International Brigade grew, the problem arose of training Spanish cadres for the leadership of the military units. The international cadres had to take a back seat and play the role of instructors and assistants of the Spaniards promoted to the corresponding posts. To the extent that the developing Spanish cadres acquired knowledge and experience in the war they rightly demanded a correspondingly leading position. The correct relations established between the foreigners and Spaniards played a decisive role in maintaining the fighting capacity and shock power of the battalions.

* * *

After undergoing a good amount of military training, and filled with the desire to undertake the offensive, the 11th Brigade joined in the first battles of the young People's Army around Brunete. In the severest storming attacks there was fulfilled the task set to the brigade of capturing Quijorna, occupied by the Moors

and Phalangists. Then began the enemy counter-attack, an onslaught by German planes that had hurried from the north to Franco's aid. And here the tremendous significance of technical and moral preparedness during battle made itself felt. In the course of 48 hours, German and Italian fascist airmen bombarded our lines round Brunete and prevented any movement whatsoever on the lines of approach. Part of the front near Brunete did not withstand this test. Several brigades wavered and, seized with panic, left their positions. This still further increased the danger, for now the machine-guns, air bombs, and heavy fascist artillery had splendid targets in front of them. The losses increased manyfold.

But in the 35th Division near Brunete (this division was made up of the 11th International Brigade and two purely Spanish brigades), as well as in the Campesino Division which lay to the right of it during the interval on the Guadalajara front, detailed consideration was given to the question as to what to do in case of a mass attack by aviation. Richard, Commander of the 11th Brigade, said:

"The shovel is now just as important a weapon as the rifle; unfortunately, we have too few shovels and, therefore, we shall have to dig trenches in shifts. Battalion commanders and political commissars whose companies are not sheltered in trenches before sunrise, deserve to be shot."

When squadrons of the enemy planes hurled their bombs on the positions of the 35th Division, they caused little damage and the losses were relatively insignificant. The fascist airmen with their machine-guns almost touched the trenches but the latter were built in such a way that no bullets could penetrate the lower walls of the trenches that had been built for defense against aviation. The men were calm in their reliable shelters. A machine-gun company of the 11th Brigade set up two heavy machine-guns on wheels, with muzzles turned upwards; one of them succeeded in bringing down an impudent "Heinkel" which came down right in our lines.

All this raised the morale of the men to a tremendous degree, and the attack on the enemy infantry on our position was successfully beaten off.

The lesson of the fighting around Brunete is that only the combination of the maximum knowledge of modern methods of defense against the onslaught of an enemy on whose side there is superiority of technical means, with systematic political and educational work can make a military unit sufficiently capable of resistance in face of such hellish fire. Only an inconsiderable part of the young People's Army possessed such training.

At the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain in 1937, Comrades Jose Diaz and Pasionaria raised the question with utmost sharpness of the need to raise the technical knowledge of the men and commanders, of the need to study modern tactics, and also of the role of the political commissar as the political soul of the army. In their speeches they referred more than once to the fact that the outcome of the war depends on the solution of these questions.

The successful attack of the Republican troops in the Saragossa district, the ease with which Quinto and Belchite were taken, were the result of these measures being carried into life. All that the troops had been taught during their maneuvers in open country during the fighting round Guadalajara, all that the men had learned from the experience of the fighting at Brunete were applied in practice: our aviation, artillery, tanks and infantry attacked in an avalanche and with such suddenness that the enemy were demoralized and took to flight, leaving equipment of the latest type, and fortifications built by German engineers. At Quinto, and later in beating off the fascist counter-attack near Mediana, the newly formed 4th Battalion of the 11th Brigade, the Austrian February 12th Battalion distinguished itself, capturing a whole battalion of the enemy.

In the capture of Teruel by the Republican troops a decisive role was also played by attacking suddenly with the

employment of tanks, aviation and artillery.

* * *

In the recent months the republican army has increasingly developed into a modern army. Had it had to deal with Franco's forces alone, the war would have ended long ago to the advantage of the republic.

In face of the life and death struggle, in face of the enemy attacking with ever-increasing technical resources, the question automatically arose among the republican troops as to why it was that the People's Army was not receiving more airplanes and artillery, why the General Workers' Union and National Confederation of Labor did not unite to develop the war industry to the highest degree, why it was that traitors—Trotskyites, wreckers and saboteurs, etc.—were carrying on their work in the rear. The political workers gave and continue to give exhaustive replies to all these questions.

In connection with the setbacks at the front and the difficulties connected with food supplies in the rear, the importance of political work still further increases in the matter of maintaining and strengthening the morale of the troops.

The Spanish people have exerted heroic efforts in the struggle for their independence and liberty. Great is the service of the Spanish people to the whole of mankind, for not only are they defending the cause of the Spanish people, but also the cause of all progressive mankind.

Therefore, Spain has the right to demand the aid of other countries the liberty and independence of which it is defending with its blood. The shameful policy of "non-intervention," which favors fascism and prohibits the Spanish government purchasing arms and munitions abroad, was the theme of endless discussion in the battalions. The perfidy and cynicism of the British Tory government, the weakness of the French government always occupied a central place in the minds of the men. And at the same time, the men referred on more than one occasion to the passivity of the Labor

and Socialist International. In the presence of Schevenels, Friedrich Adler, De Brouckere, who came to visit Spain, we conducted general meetings of the men of the International Brigades. The leaders of the Labor and Socialist International delivered radical speeches and made all kinds of promises. For a time hopes also rose in connection with the conference of the representatives of two Internationals at Annemasse in 1937, but the reactionary leaders trailing in the wake of British imperialism have hindered the realization of international united action as proposed again and again by Comrade Dimitroff.

There is one country about which the entire People's Army and the whole of republican Spain speak of with thanks and enthusiasm, and that is the Soviet Union. Never have German Communists sung one of their beloved songs with such enthusiasm as at the celebration on the Aragon front in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the October socialist revolution.

The words of the song run:

"From end to 'end of the land, on
mountain heights,
The realm of the eagle's flight—
Of our own dear, wise beloved Stalin
The people sing a splendid song."

Many difficulties that arose out of the specific character of the International Brigade and of the influence of the inner-political struggle for the life of the battalions were only able to be solved with the aid of the Party organizations which existed in the battalions from the very outset and the decisions of which were always carried through by the Communists.

The best Communists were always at the head of the brigade and the battalions. Hundreds of old and new fighters of our Party, whom death united with the heroes of the Spanish people, have remained forever on Spanish soil.

Hans Beimler and Louis Schuster, the first political commissars, fell in the University City. That courageous tankist Fritz Lesch perished with his tank at Jarama. Fritz Schafer fell at the head

of a battalion near Guadalajara. Gustav Ker, Commander of the Thaelmann Battalion, was buried in the graveyard at Guíjorana. At the head of the Thaelmann Battalion, George Elsner met his death near the church in Quinto. The courageous tank drivers, Schlosser and Pflaumer, were burned alive in their tanks near Fuente de Ebro. Before Teruel there fell Commander Max Schmidt; Commandant of the Beimler Battalion, Max Doppler; the Austrian Zimmerman, beloved of the February 12th Battalion. Willy Glatzer, Political Commissar of the Thaelmann Battalion—and the Brigade Party Secretary fell near Gandosa. Buried side by side with the Communists lie the bodies of such courageous German Social-Democrats as the nineteen-year-old hero Pitt, who met his death on December 19, 1936, near Remisa; Jürgensen, Hoffman, Drumm who were buried near Brunete, Erich Neumann who died of typhoid, etc.

The German Communists and many courageous Socialists and other anti-fascist fighters from Germany who perished, and those who have remained alive, were and are firmly aware that the struggle for free Spain is part of the struggle against the Hitler dictatorship at home. Many of them hastened to the trenches in Spain direct from underground revolutionary work in Germany.

There in Spain, German and Austrian Communists and Social-Democrats joined forces with arms in hand to fight against Hitler. They concluded a united front for life and death. Together they sent out the call for unity from abroad to their native land. Our heroic fighters of the International Brigades have shown an example of how to fight against fascism in a united and common front.

The Communist International, the Communist Parties of Germany and Austria, as the Communist Parties and peoples of other countries, can justly be proud of their fighters in Spain. They have borne aloft with honor the Party banner which is the fighting banner of the anti-fascists in their countries. They have maintained the honor of their peoples.

Program of Joint Action of the Spanish Trade Unions

AFTER negotiations lasting several weeks between the two biggest trade union organizations of Spain, the General Workers Union (U.G.T.) with a membership of almost two millions, and the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) with about 1,200,000 members, an agreement was reached and on March 17 a program of joint action was published.

At the time when the P.O.U.M. Trotskyites were opening the Aragon front to the onslaught of the Italo-Germanordes, the Spanish trade unions arrived at unity, and together with the anti-fascist political parties, took their place at the head of the people, mobilizing all forces for resistance to the enemy.

On March 18, immediately after the publication of the program of joint action, the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. issued a manifesto to the Spanish people which stated:

“At the moment of the publication of the program of joint action the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. declare to the Spanish people and the whole world . . . that nobody will succeed in carrying through the criminal plans of crushing the country on the basis of a monstrous compromise or of agreement with the enemy. The trade unions will not permit this! The working class sees the only way to victory!”

Numerous facts from the life of Spain in recent times provide clear proof of what can be achieved by the united forces of the working class. Thus, for example, a demonstration took place in Barcelona on March 16 in which the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. took part, besides the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the United Socialist Party

of Catalonia. And together with the other representatives of the proletarian organizations, delegates of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. went to Negrin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in order to express the will of the Spanish people to fight until the final crushing of fascism and against all sentiments of capitulation whatsoever. Trade union unity enabled the Building Workers' Union to mobilize all its members for the building of fortifications, the Transport Workers' Union to appeal to the government to put the whole of transport on a military basis and to mobilize all the union members up to 45 years of age, etc.

The signing of the program of joint action also testifies to a change in the position of the Spanish Anarchists on a number of most important questions. The program proposed by the Anarcho-Syndicalist C.N.T. contained such points as the establishment in all military units “of national councils with proportional representation of all the anti-fascist forces.” This measure would have weakened the people's army and would have led back to the system of the people's militia already liquidated. The C.N.T. program contained the proposal to establish an Iberian Trade Union Bank for the provision of credits to “collectivized enterprises,” i.e., to those enterprises which are still in the hands of the different trade union organizations. This measure would have led to the decentralization of industry.

The C.N.T. program contained a point about the preferential provision of land to the C.N.T. and U.G.T. trade unions, while individual farming was only to be allowed if “the individual peasant works

exclusively for himself," that is to say, compulsory collectivization, a point playing into the hands of the enemy.

The C.N.T. program contained a point about the municipalization of all houses with the exception of buildings belonging to the state. All these points put forward by the Anarchists of the C.N.T. were not included in the signed program of joint action.

All the anti-fascist organizations of Spain met the report of the conclusion of the pact between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. with great satisfaction. They understood that the program of joint action is a mighty weapon in the struggle against fascism and removes all barriers to the further strengthening of the fraternal bonds binding the whole of the working class. Only enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, those who undertook an armed struggle against the Republic, who had provoked the putsch in May, 1937, in Barcelona, attempted to set the anti-fascist Republican organizations against the proletarian organizations by using the demagogic statement that the trade union unity pact was one of the forms of the struggle against the People's Front.

These criminal, slanderous maneuvers were exposed in good time and fell through miserably. The National Confederation of Labor and the Iberian Anarchist Federation, as well as the General Workers Union, joined the People's Front, selecting their representatives to the national and local committees. The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. entered the newly formed government of Spain, the government of national unity.

The establishment of trade union unity will assist in strengthening the People's Army, in purging the factories of saboteurs, improving the conditions of the working people, strengthening contacts between the rear and the front, and mobilizing all the forces of the people for the crushing of fascism.

The establishment of trade union unity is yet another step towards unity of the entire Spanish people engaged in the struggle for the salvation of their country, against the invaders, against the

establishment of fascist domination in Spain.

The establishment of united action between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. considerably facilitates the creation of a united working class party in Spain.

Below we publish the text of the agreement between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.

PROGRAM OF UNITED ACTION BETWEEN THE U.G.T. AND C.N.T.*

The C.N.T. and U.G.T., making it their constant care to achieve victory and to guarantee the political and economic gains won by the proletariat during the Revolution, and striving to extend these gains to the fullest possible degree, institute a national contact committee, and establish its functions on the following basis.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. recognize the tremendous successes achieved in establishing the People's Army, in strengthening its fighting power and in raising the qualifications of its commanding staff, and are full of determination to strengthen all elements facilitating the establishment of a regular army which shall serve as the guarantee of victory in the present war and in all foreign armed conflicts that may arise as a result of this victory. It must be the constant care of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. to support and strengthen the bonds of fraternity in the army under the banner of anti-fascism.

The trade unions will do everything possible to assist in creating stronger reserves, thus making it possible to add forces to the People's Army, and guarantee it the possibility of conducting offensive operations without a break, and of regularly relieving troops at the front.

With this end in view, the trade unions will see to it that their members fulfil the orders regarding mobilization with enthusiasm. Among the workers they will carry on a campaign for military

* Published in the *Frente Rojo*, of March 18.

ing; they will assist in developing conscription training; they will avert possible hitches in production as a result of workers being called up to the army, and for this they will see to the training of women, and also of those men who, because of their age, are not able to be called up for military service. The two organizations (U.G.T. and C.N.T.) favor the maintenance and strengthening of the institutions of military commissars and declare for the equal and just representation of all the anti-fascist forces in the body of political commissars. The C.N.T. and U.G.T. undertake to see to it that this equal participation of the anti-fascist forces is strictly and unswervingly observed.

Political commissars are to function not only at the fighting fronts, but also in the navy and the air fleet, as well as among troops on duty in the rear. The two organizations will also strive to secure that the contact and friendship between officers of the old army and new officers who have come from the people grow stronger with every day that passes, and at the same time will take care to prevent the revival of the negative sides of the old army that existed prior to July 19.

The U.G.T. and C.N.T. organizations will strive to secure the necessary resources from the government to achieve the energetic development of fortification work, the building and repair of trunk roads and railways, and also the building of shelters for the civil population.

It must be the constant care of the unions to maintain close contact with the armed forces, and, therefore, the unions will regard them as their members, looking after their needs and those of their families, but without interfering in functions of a purely military character.

The motive guiding the U.G.T. and C.N.T. in the joint proposal of these immediate demands is the desire to achieve a rapid and final victory over fascism, to achieve real democracy in all organizations and in all spheres of military activity, to use political commissars so as to strengthen the People's Army and to strengthen

it, and by their experience and strength really to help the governments (Spanish and Catalan—*Ed.*) and to a considerable degree to help them in the fulfilment of their tasks.

INDUSTRY

The C.N.T. and U.G.T. recognize the necessity of increasing the output of our country's industry, particularly the war industry, by coordinating and increasing the efforts of the unions in this direction. The two organizations will strive to secure a strong and disciplined rear, and to instil in all workers, regardless of their skill, the spirit of self-sacrifice and self-denial in connection with the requirements of the moment, so that they may not spare their strength, but strive in their work thoroughly to satisfy the needs of the war.

In the spirit of the above, the C.N.T. and U.G.T. will defend the following measures.

THE WAR INDUSTRY

The military supply department must achieve a single leadership over the munition works in agreement with the National Council of the War Industry to be established with the participation of the C.N.T. and U.G.T.

The adaptation of all factories and enterprises capable of being used for the defense of the country to the needs of the war industry.

The centralization of all raw materials, chiefly raw materials required for the supply of the war industry.

Transport which by its nature is called on to serve the needs of war, to be centralized, militarized and placed at the disposal of the government; a definite part of the means of transport to be set aside as absolutely necessary for the avoiding of hitches in industry and trade behind the lines.

The U.G.T. and C.N.T. trade unions will collaborate in rapidly establishing a powerful war industry. The trade unions are to set themselves the urgent task of training the workers in the spirit of strict vigilance towards all kinds of sabotage and slackness in industry and

the struggle against such things, so as to increase the productivity of labor and improve the quality of output.

NATIONALIZATION

It is necessary without any delay whatsoever to set about the nationalization of mines, railroads, heavy industry, large-scale shipping, the banks and all the other branches of industry necessary to restore the national economy, after the corresponding sanction of the competent state bodies. Nationalized enterprises must be centralized, and their work carried on planfully.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS AND A SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL

To carry through this plan of nationalizing industry, as well as to organize the general planning of industry, the U.G.T. and C.N.T. propose the immediate establishment of a Supreme State Economic Council in which both trade unions are to participate. The Supreme Economic Council draws up a national economic plan with the aid of National Industrial Councils, in which the trade unions shall also participate; it shall regulate production, particularly in the nationalized branches of industry and regulate the distribution of credits, prices, the import and export of products, trade, etc., mobilizing all the necessary organs to ensure that its functions are carried on without any difficulties.

The government shall publish laws relating to the national economy in agreement with the National Economic Council.

The National Economic Council organizes labor inspection in all branches of industry.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Apart from the measures already carried through, and being now carried through by the government in the sphere of vocational training, the trade unions will assist in raising the cultural and technical level of the workers by organizing special courses and schools subsidized by the state.

THE MUNICIPALIZATION OF CITY ENTERPRISES

The C.N.T. and U.G.T. recognize the need for bringing order into or for reorganizing public enterprises on the basis of municipalizing those of them that require it by reason of their significance and nature.

Recognizing that immovable property is the property of the state—city possessions, with the exception of properties bringing only a small income, must become the property of the municipalities on the basis of laws published by the government for this purpose.

COLLECTIVIZATION

The C.N.T. and U.G.T. consider it necessary to give a legal, juridical basis to the enterprises that have been collectivized, and to this end, consider it necessary to promulgate the corresponding laws that shall define which of the collectivized enterprises are to be maintained and on what basis they are to work (structure, functions, total output, etc.). Collectivized enterprises failing to subordinate themselves to these laws are to be liquidated.

The state must render aid to collectivized enterprises subordinating themselves to these laws and showing their ability to pay their way.

The laws regarding collectivized enterprises are to be drawn up and submitted to the government by the Supreme State Economic Council.

WAGES, PRICES AND SUPPLIES

The improvement of the workers' standard of living and the struggle against the present high cost of living and the lack of food products are an urgent necessity. For this reason the C.N.T. and U.G.T. consider it necessary to carry through the following measures:

The trade unions must increase their vigilance and the struggle against profiteers. Primarily this is the task of the unions catering for workers employed in hotels and restaurants, and bakeries, and of other trade unions catering for food workers and distribution workers.

Encouragement must be given to the

establishment of firm, retail trading consumption cooperatives, and the organization of production cooperatives with the application to them of the most limiting legislation, and also the establishment of big cooperative centers of wholesale export trade under the strict control of the state and in accordance with the instructions of the Economic Council. In addition, a plan must be drawn up of the import of necessary products constituting the main articles of consumption by the workers, with a view to ensuring their families the necessary supply of food, at prices corresponding to the wages they receive. The government must also control and regulate the domestic consumption of all products constituting the basis of our export policy.

The U.G.T. and C.N.T. consider it necessary to establish minimum wages to correspond to the cost of living and taking account on the one hand of the workers' skill, and, on the other hand, of each worker's output. In this sense, they will defend the principle: "He who works more and better shall receive more wages" regardless of sex or age, as long as this is required by the interests of the restoration of the national economy.

With this end in view a national commission must be established to regulate wages and prices in which the trade union executives are to participate.

The technical staff both in collectivized and in state enterprises must be provided with all the necessary material conditions for scientific and productive work so as to assist in increasing the productivity of labor.

TRADE

The two organizations are unanimous in considering it necessary to introduce strict control over foreign trade, both as regards imports and as regards exports which assure the country's supplies of raw materials and currency resources. Foreign trade must be based on the following principles:

The workers must correspondingly be represented in the trading bodies to be established under the leadership of the Supreme Economic Council.

The general legislation must operate in respect to profits from foreign trade.

WORKERS' CONTROL

The Contact Committee considers that workers' control represents one of the most valuable and important gains of the workers. The Contact Committee considers that at the present moment a law regarding workers' control is necessary to define the rights and obligations of the workers. With this end in view it considers it necessary to carry through the following measures:

The government must issue a law on workers' control, indicating the function of the workers in the sphere of control over industry and over its effectiveness, the participation of the workers in management and profits, the conditions of the workers' labor and the rules covering the protection of social legislation.

The Workers' Control bodies are elected on a democratic basis by direct voting, all the workers of the given enterprise to take part in it, thus ensuring real workers' democracy and the defense of the workers' interests.

AGRICULTURE

The C.N.T. and U.G.T. declare for the immediate nationalization of the land, which is to be handed over for use mainly by agricultural collectives and cooperatives, preference being given to collectives and cooperatives established by the U.G.T. and C.N.T. while at the same time paying due respect to the will of peasants preferring to cultivate their land individually. The state must carry through a policy of supporting existing collectives, giving preference to collectives of the U.G.T. and C.N.T., and also to collectives established in correspondence with the law on a voluntary basis by agricultural workers belonging to the trade unions.

As regards peasants cultivating their land individually, provision is made for the inviolability of small land holdings, on condition that the peasant shows that the land has been acquired lawfully, and if he fulfils the corresponding legal instructions.

Both trade union executives will de-

against accidents, and social insurance which shall rid workers of all suffering in case of accident, sickness and old age.

The government must draw up legislation to render secure the position of the families of workers.

A review must be made of all civil, criminal, trading legislation, etc.

The two trade union executives consider it necessary to achieve the buying out of the national wealth, the organization of the national economy, and its juridical regulation so as completely to secure the independence of the country.

Defend all the gains won by the peasants, and strive to increase agricultural output. This requires:

1. That the cultivation of the land be regulated so that the individual cultivation of the land does not hinder collective production;

2. That the standard of living of peasants be raised on the basis of raising the prices of agricultural products, so that peasants receive prices for their products to correspond to the prices of the industrial products they consume and which are to be regulated;

3. The government must make it possible for peasants and primarily for collectives and cooperatives of the U.G.T. and C.N.T. to acquire agricultural implements, seeds, fertilizers, etc., and also to receive credits through a National Agricultural Credit Bank, the existence of which is necessary;

4. The organization of experimental farms (agricultural schools) must be stimulated, with not less than one in each district, to train agronomists, mechanics, organizers, and managers of collectives and cooperatives;

5. Increased industrialization of agriculture and the rationalization of agricultural crops.

SOCIAL MEASURES

The U.G.T. and C.N.T. consider it necessary to proceed to a review of the legislation of the country with a view to consolidating the gains won by the proletariat and abolishing legislation contradicting this.

Legislation regarding protection

The C.N.T. and U.G.T. express their readiness to help in all spheres, political, trade union, trade, industry, by encouraging all ways and means capable of rapidly achieving victory.

All representative organs, both trade union and government, that shall be established for the above-mentioned objects in agreement with the two organizations, shall be composed, with the participation of the U.G.T. and C.N.T., on the basis of proportional representation of the forces of each organization in the given locality.

The two organizations undertake to adopt measures so that at the end of the war against fascism a guarantee is provided for the right of the Spanish people and particularly the working class to elect the form of administration that corresponds to the sacrifices they are now making and to guarantee real democracy in our country.

The National Contact Committee at each given moment and in each specific case will analyze the problems affecting the free expression of opinion and the impartial application of the law.

ADDENDUM

The U.G.T. and C.N.T. have examined the proposal of the National Confederation of Labor regarding the inclusion of the trade union organizations in the government.

On examining this question they decided the following:

1. The U.G.T., which has always considered itself represented in the government by the Socialist Party, and now by the Socialist and Communist Parties, considers that the final solution of this question is in the competence of the constitutional authorities of the country and the political parties belonging to the People's Front.

2. The U.G.T., recognizing the special features of the position of the C.N.T., declares that it sees no obstacles to the C.N.T. being included in the government.

Both organizations in the shortest possible time will discuss the question of their inclusion in the People's Front.

Barcelona, March, 1938.

For the Consolidation and Extension of the Anti-Japanese National United Front*

BY CHEN SHAO-YUI (WANG MING)

THE manifesto of the C.C. of the Communist Party of China dated December 25, 1937, addressed to all our fellow countrymen includes the following words:

"At the present moment China is passing through a very serious and difficult moment in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors. However, the partial seizure and loss of territories and central cities, and also partial victory or defeat of the front in the first period of the war cannot determine the final outcome of the anti-Japanese war. But the firm welding together of the 450,000,000 of our fellow countrymen, and energy and confidence in the outcome of a long drawn-out and difficult anti-Japanese war constitute the final guarantee that we shall win final victory.

"The biggest difficulty at the present time lies not in the lack of troops, not in the lack of armaments, not in financial difficulties and not in the fact that the Japanese have advanced into the heart of the country, but in the fact that the Japanese invaders, apart from their armed invasion, are attempting 'to win China by the forces of the Chinese themselves'; in the fact that traitors, spies, Trotskyite bandits, are intensifying their provocative work in every possible way with a view to undermining the unity of our national forces, all the more so since the unification of our forces has not yet reached the level required."

At almost the same time Chiang Kai-

The above article was published in the January, 1938, issue of the Chinese journal *Masses* in Hankow, and is here published in abbreviated form.

shek, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese army, also made the statement: "The enemy does not scare us. All we need is internal unity."

Hence it follows that the main conclusion to be drawn from the situation that has arisen is that the anti-Japanese forces of the entire Chinese nation must be increasingly consolidated. Facts have already completely confirmed the point that the only correct and reliable way of consolidating the anti-Japanese forces of our nation is to strengthen and extend the united anti-Japanese national front.

But how are we to strengthen and extend the united anti-Japanese national front? First and foremost what is needed is to strengthen and extend close collaboration between our two big political parties, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

We know that the Kuomintang is already pursuing a policy of alliance with the Communists in the struggle against Japan. The Red Army has already been reorganized into the 8th People's Revolutionary Army. The Soviet districts have already been transformed into special districts of the Chinese People's Republic. Thus the basis has already been created for real collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. However, everybody is also aware that, as a consequence of historical and other reasons, collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party has not yet to this very day reached the level required by the situation that has developed in China and desired by the Kuo-

mintang and the Communist Party.

The strengthening and extension of united action between the two parties at the present moment are not only a life and death question for the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, but also a question deeply understood by every Chinese really concerned about the affairs of state and by everybody whose attitude is friendly toward China.

How then can we strengthen and extend close collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China? On the one hand it is necessary to give good answers to all the basic questions concerning collaboration between the two parties, and on the other hand to adopt a number of specific measures to strengthen and extend this collaboration. It should be said perfectly openly that despite the fact that collaboration between the two parties has already become a fact known to the whole world, yet there are in both parties a small number of members who still do not clearly grasp the main questions of the collaboration between the two parties.

What are the basic questions that are not quite clear to these people? First, they are not quite clear as to the main causes and purpose of the present collaboration between the two parties. They do not fully understand that the present collaboration between the two parties is conditioned by the need to secure the independence and liberty of China. They sometimes forget that the basic aim of the present collaboration between the two parties is victory over the common enemy, the Japanese invader; that resistance to Japan at the present time is the basis of the program of the united national front. They forget that the basic criterion whereby we can distinguish friend from enemy is the attitude taken either of resistance or non-resistance to Japan. They leave out of account the simple truth that "all who resist Japan are our friends, while all who capitulate to Japan are our enemies." They leave out of account the following rule of behavior for all Chi-

nese: "Resistance to Japan is above all else, everything must be subordinated to resistance to Japan." They frequently set other less important tasks against the basic task of resistance to Japan, and thereby lessen the significance of the united anti-Japanese national front.

Second, they do not quite clearly visualize the line of behavior to be adopted toward a friendly party participating in the united front. They do not quite clearly understand that the united front is the unification of various political organizations on the basis of a common program of struggle against common enemies and to achieve a common aim. They do not quite clearly understand that to weaken a friendly party, friendly military forces in the struggle against the common enemy is equal to weakening one's own forces, to rendering aid to the enemy.

They do not quite clearly understand that in the camp of the united front it is necessary to join forces in finding the measures whereby to lessen unnecessary disagreements and differences and to improve the ability to conduct joint resistance to the enemy. They do not always understand that the relations between two parties that have entered into agreement cannot be built on the basis of the domination or subordination of one party to the other, but must consist of mutual respect, confidence, aid and control. They do not quite clearly understand that one's behavior toward allies must consist not of a mutual struggle for priority, not in mutual attacks, but in jointly bearing responsibility, jointly developing and jointly conquering.

Among the members of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, people are still to be found who carry over their line of behavior toward enemies to their own friends and, therefore, consciously or unconsciously do harm to the united anti-Japanese national front, and benefit the enemy.

Third, certain members of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party do not visualize quite clearly either *the perspectives* of the collaboration between

the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, or the perspectives of the entire united anti-Japanese national front. They fail to visualize with sufficient clarity the present international situation and the internal conditions China is now in. Therefore, they do not clearly visualize the path which China must follow at the present historical stage, and give ear to various cock-and-bull stories, slander, demagoguery, spread with a definite aim by the Japanese invaders and by traitors to the Chinese people. Therefore, even such very groundless statements, designed to provoke a split, as: "If armed resistance meets with defeat, then China will be under the heel of Japan, while China is victorious, the Communist Party will establish Soviet Power in China" are still able to have certain influence over them.

As far back as the Third Plenum of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang that took place in February, 1937, and after this plenum, rumors were widespread in China alleging that collaboration between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang was a mere short-term maneuver, and that soon after the establishment of such collaboration, or to be more exact, in the process of doing so, or at the end of the anti-Japanese struggle, the Communists would turn their weapons against the Kuomintang. In reply to this type of statement, the Communists have given an absolutely open reply:

"First, the struggle to drive the Japanese imperialists out of China and for the national independence of the Chinese people is no easy short-term matter at all; second, the Chinese Communists not only wish to collaborate with the Kuomintang in the period of the anti-Japanese war, but are ready to join with all honest members of the Kuomintang, its disciples of Sun Yat-sen, in fighting for an independent, free and happy future for the great Chinese people."*

* See article by the author entitled "The Key to the Salvation of the Chinese People," printed in *The Communist International*, May, 1937.

As is well known, the Communist Party of China at the present stage of the struggle gave up on its own initiative the slogan of the Sovietization of China. And this is no temporary move, no temporary maneuver or game: it is a serious turn in the policy and tactics of the Communist Party of China, a turn called for by the change in the situation in China connected with Japanese aggression.

The Communist Party of China advances the slogan of a democratic republic the character of which will be distinct from the bourgeois-democratic republics of Europe and America; however, it will not be a republic of the Soviet type, it will be a new type of republic born in the period of the victory of the policy of the united anti-Japanese national front, it will be the republic of all who participate to the very end in the struggle against Japan. This shows that people who believe scandal-mongers that "after the victory in the war against Japan, Soviet power will be established" have, to say the least, an incorrect understanding of the real nature of the Communist Party's policy at the given stage of historical development, and disregard the real position in China.

What then are the basic and specific measures that need to be adopted to strengthen and extend collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China at the present time?

1. It is necessary to discuss and adopt a program of the united anti-Japanese national front.

2. It is necessary to establish an organizational committee made up of representatives of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China to discuss and solve current questions.

3. It is necessary to strengthen and extend the bonds of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China so as the more easily to bring about an increase and strengthening of the power of the All-China United People's Revolutionary Army, to strengthen and add to the All-China United People's Government so as really

to achieve the general mobilization of the resources and strength of the Chinese people in order to achieve victory in the defensive war against Japan.

Only by strengthening and extending close collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China is it possible really to strengthen and extend the united anti-Japanese national front of the entire Chinese people. It must, however, be absolutely clearly recognized that collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China is only the basis for the establishment of a wide united anti-Japanese national front. In China, apart from the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, there are several political groupings and organizations, and tremendous numbers of people as yet unorganized but in need of organization, who belong to various sections of society.

All the anti-Japanese party groupings, mass organizations, and wide masses of the people should enter the united anti-Japanese national front. And it must be borne in mind that the slogan of uniting all parties and political groupings to take part in a united anti-Japanese national front presupposes the unification of the really anti-Japanese parties and political groupings. Therefore, we must reject as erroneous the views of those who consider that three people constitute a political grouping, while five people form a party. Certain political figures even go to the extent of suggesting that the Chinese traitors, Japanese spies (as, for example, the mad dogs of the Japanese intelligence service—Trotskyites and their myrmidons, etc.) are also to be accepted as a political grouping. Traitors to China, spies, whatever the mask behind which they hide, not only cannot participate in the united anti-Japanese national front, but the united anti-Japanese front must conduct a resolute and ruthless struggle against them.

Only by drawing the various anti-Japanese parties and mass organizations into the united anti-Japanese national front will it be possible on the one hand really to extend and strengthen our

forces for resistance to Japan, and on the other hand to strengthen and extend close contact between the party, army and government, and the wide masses of the people.

It is necessary to clear up certain unnecessary, harmful misunderstandings inside the anti-Japanese forces.

It is necessary first and foremost to explain the misunderstandings of certain people in relation to the "Society for the Salvation of China" and toward a part of the Kuomintang. For example, there are people who persist in calling one of the units of the Kuomintang participating in the anti-Japanese war a "fascist grouping." It should be said that there are no such groupings in China now, as is confirmed by the specific facts and special conditions of the historic development of China. At the present moment in China there can only be a united anti-Japanese national front to resist the aggression of the Japanese fascist invaders, and no People's Front directed against enemies within the country. The united anti-Japanese national front is clearly distinct from the People's Front. The social basis of the united anti-Japanese national front is considerably wider than that of the People's Front, and its edge is directed against foreign enemies and their myrmidons.

At the present time in China only those ideas and organizations can find a basis which are directed toward the struggle against fascist national aggression, and there must be no place whatsoever for organizations that assist fascist national oppression. The youth of China at the present time will only share views and will only follow organizations that serve social progress, and will not accept the bait of those who go against social progress. Therefore members of the Kuomintang, followers of Sun Yat-sen and his three principles, must not be transformed into traitors to their teachers and become followers of fascism.

The theory of Sun Yat-sen's three principles and fascism have nothing in common between them. The basic idea of

the three principles is national independence, democratic liberty, popular well-being and the happiness of the people. Whereas the real, basic character of fascism is precisely national aggression, crushing of democracy and the undermining of the national well-being. Therefore nobody will believe that an erstwhile member of the Kuomintang belonging to the followers of revolutionary Sun Yat-senism has become transformed into a lackey of reactionary fascism. We are convinced that the young people belonging to the "Society for the Salvation of China" and to the Kuomintang are part of the progressive forces of Chinese society opposing Japan and fighting for the salvation of China. Therefore we sincerely hope that, with joint work by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the machinations of Chinese traitors directed toward disuniting the forces of China will be exposed and traitors in our country destroyed.

What, then, are the fundamental measures to be taken at the present time to strengthen and extend, on the basis of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the anti-Japanese national united front?

It is necessary to draw into the organization of the anti-Japanese national united front all party groupings really opposed to Japan and standing for the liberation of China, for the struggle for a common cause.

It is necessary that all the existing mass organizations of workers, military men, peasants and students having the right to participate in the anti-Japanese national united front, increase their

forces for resistance to Japan, for the salvation of China.

3. It is necessary that according to the principles and forms of the anti-Japanese national united front, the as yet unorganized wide masses of all sections of society be organized so that they can become organized troops for the struggle against Japan.

Only provided there is a wide and stable united anti-Japanese national front, based on the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China, is it possible really to unite the national forces of the whole of China, and once we achieve the unity of the 450,000,000 people of Great China, no force in the world will be in a position to subdue it. Only then will it be possible to achieve final victory over Japan, to win the independence of the Chinese nation, and to secure the conditions for the regeneration of the Chinese nation.

The firm consolidation of the national anti-Japanese forces of the whole of China is not only the basis for overcoming the serious internal difficulties in the present anti-Japanese war, but is also the most fundamental condition enabling the Chinese people to receive profound sympathy and effective aid in its liberation struggle from the progressive forces in other countries. The mustering of the Chinese people is not only the key to saving the situation in the present difficult and dangerous moment, but is also the basic guarantee of the fulfilment of the slogan:

"Wage the anti-Japanese war to the end and achieve final victory."

Interview Given to a Correspondent of the "Sin-Jung-Hua-Pao"

BY MAO TSE-TUNG

[In connection with the fact that a number of newspapers and journals have in recent months been discussing the question of the establishment of the "dictatorship of one party in China," i.e., of the maintenance of only one legal, ruling party, the correspondent of the Sin-Jung-Hua-Pao newspaper addressed a series of questions to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who gave detailed replies to them.]

[Below we publish replies to some of the questions put to him as published in the Sin-Jung-Hua-Pao of February 10, 1938. The text of the replies is published in a somewhat abbreviated form.]

QUESTION: Some people say: "The Kuomintang should now operate the dictatorship of one party." What is your opinion on this question?

ANSWER: I can give the following answer to this question.

1. If by the term dictatorship of one party you have in view the guidance given by the Kuomintang to the National government, then this is an accomplished fact already. Everybody is aware that the responsible posts in the National government are occupied only by members of the Kuomintang or people appointed by the Kuomintang, while other political parties are not represented in the government. After the Kuomintang our Communist Party is the second big political party in China, and we do not today put forward the demand for participation in the government. On this question open and convincing statements have been made in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

of China by Chen Shao-yui (Wang Ming), a leading comrade in our Party, in an interview with an American journalist on December 25, 1937, and also by another leading member of our Party, Comrade Chang Wen-tien (Lo Pu), in an article entitled "The Strengthening of Collaboration Between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China and the Winning of Victory in the Anti-Japanese War," published in issue No. 28 of the journal *Kaifang* (*Liberation*). On this point, speaking in the name of the C.C. of the Communist Party of China, I can say once again with all possible seriousness that the Communist Party of China at the present time is sincere in helping the Kuomintang in the anti-Japanese war, but we do not yet put forward the demand that Communists participate in the Chinese National Government.

2. A party standing at the helm of state, i.e., a ruling party, must not of necessity resort to the method of the dictatorship of a single party. If by the term "the dictatorship of one party" we have in view the policy pursued by the Kuomintang over a period of ten years, then I consider this question needs to be carefully thought out. In my opinion, although the Kuomintang may today maintain the power of a single party, yet in order to concentrate the forces and strengthen the will of the people for the struggle against the Japanese aggressor, for the salvation of our country, the Kuomintang should carry through corresponding democratic measures. These democratic measures, of course,

must be carried through in the interests of the national liberation war and, without a doubt, be directed toward strengthening the government and increasing the confidence of the people in the government.

QUESTION: *Some people now say: "The Kuomintang should operate the policy that there can be no parties other than the Kuomintang." In other words, a policy that does not allow of the legal existence of parties other than the Kuomintang. What is your opinion on this question?*

ANSWER: The existence of the Kuomintang as the only legal party, the non-recognition of the legal existence of the Communist Party and of other political parties (the Party of Nationalist Youth, the National-Socialist Party, etc.) and the attempt to destroy by force of arms parties other than the Kuomintang, is not anything new in China; this is an old procedure that has been operated in China during the last ten years. The results of this procedure was not that internecine war did not cease in China, but also that unparalleled aggression from without resulted. The bitter experience we have undergone during the last ten years has shown us that the policy of the Kuomintang to destroy other parties by force of arms has suffered defeat. The attempt of the Communist Party of China to create a government under the leadership of a single party in Chinese conditions also led to the results expected.

The experience of the victories during the Northern campaign (1925-27) on the basis of the first collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the fact of the deepening of the national crisis in the period that followed, as the result of the split between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China, brought one bitter truth home to the members of the Kuomintang and the people of China and the whole people. It is that the really effective means of uniting China is not for one party to oppose the other or to attempt to destroy it but to unite the forces of all parties

on a general political basis, to create a united national front and, above all, to establish close collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

The main reason why our country has for many months already been offering armed resistance to Japan is the consolidation and unification of the national forces within the country. And the specific form and content of the consolidation and unification of our national forces is the establishment of an anti-Japanese united national front of all parties based on collaboration between the C.P. of China and the Kuomintang. This means that the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China have not only cast away their former mutual non-recognition and mutual opposition, but have also established close collaboration on the basis of resistance to Japan, for the salvation of our country. This means that the Kuomintang has abandoned its former position of the non-recognition of the Communist Party and other parties, and has taken a course of rallying all the anti-Japanese parties for resistance to foreign aggression. The Communist Party and other parties have also abandoned their former anti-Kuomintang position, and are collaborating with the Kuomintang with a view to conducting a struggle for the common cause of the people.

Hence we may conclude that the establishment of the anti-Japanese united national front by the forces of all parties is a necessary pre-condition for armed resistance to the Japanese aggressor. The absence of this precondition or its violation in practice will bring China to a continuation of internecine warfare.

As soon as the struggle begins within China, it will be impossible to continue armed resistance to Japan. This is a generally recognized truth. It is precisely for this reason that the Japanese fascist militarists always attempt to make use, in addition to their military aggression, of the insidious plan to "subjugate China by the hands of the Chinese themselves." And Japan is striving above all again to provoke a struggle between the

parties so as to undermine the anti-Japanese united national front.

Hence it can be seen that the "theory" now being spread about by certain people regarding the banning of parties other than the Kuomintang has already been rejected by the facts of Chinese history. It is precisely for this reason that I am profoundly convinced that this "theory" under the guise of unification—in actual fact one that undermines unification; under the guise of resistance to Japan—fundamentally one that undermines resistance to Japan—this "theory" in actual fact seeks to return China to the tragic situation that existed prior to the internal unification of the country. The attitude toward this "theory" on the part of both the patriotic population of China and of all the anti-Japanese troops is a negative one. Progressive leaders and rank-and-file members of the Kuomintang who stand for their country, for the people, and for the continuation of resistance to Japan should also adopt a negative attitude toward this "theory."

Some people say that if the legal existence of parties other than the Kuomintang is allowed, a struggle between the parties will inevitably arise, thus hindering the armed resistance to Japan. Facts, however, go to show that when formerly, parties other than the Kuomintang lived an illegal existence, there was internecine struggle in China which rendered it incapable of offering the necessary resistance to Japan; at the best only partial resistance was offered then. And exactly the opposite happened when the Kuomintang permitted the legal existence of other parties and began to establish collaboration with them, for then internecine warfare really ceased in China, and a situation unique in China's history has been created, a united government and a united army have rendered it possible to conduct a holy war of defense, hitherto unparalleled, for the national existence and national liberation of the Chinese people.

Some people allege that if the legal

existence of parties other than the Kuomintang is allowed this will violate the unification and unity of the state. Facts, however, show the opposite. When the Kuomintang permitted the legal existence of other parties, internal consolidation immediately began to develop in the country. Although there are disagreements between the parties on certain questions, the parties do not resort to criticism by force of arms, but only conduct friendly criticism. Hence it can be seen that the theory that "unification of China and armed resistance to Japan are only possible with the legal existence of the Kuomintang alone" is a false and dangerous "theory," one that cannot meet with any support among the people and the troops fighting for the unity of China and for determined resistance to Japan.

QUESTION: Some people say that at the present time, since the Communist Party recognizes Sun Yat-sen's three principles, this means that it gives up its Communism. What is your opinion on this question?

ANSWER: First of all there are people who say that the statement made by the Communists regarding their struggle to secure the realization of the three principles is equal to a rejection of their Communist convictions. Once again I can state officially in the name of our Party that these false inventions have nothing in common with the real state of affairs. We Communists have declared our desire to wage a struggle together with the members of the Kuomintang for the cause Sun Yat-sen did not succeed in achieving, namely, to fight for the international, political and economic equality of China. But at the same time we do not abandon our old, unswerving faith in Communism for which we have fought and sacrificed for many years.

In addition, there are those who say that if you declare for a struggle to secure the realization of Sun Yat-sen's three principles, and at the same time do not abandon Communism, this does not correspond to the spirit of the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, since his three prin-

les and Communism are incompatible. At this point I wish to state once again that such talk is absolutely incorrect. Such talk absolutely fails to correspond to the theory and practice of Sun Yat-sen, as it does to the real condition of the Chinese revolution. From the theoretical point of view, the basic content of Sun Yat-sen's three principles, which consist of nationalism, democratism and the well-being of the people, is quite compatible with the ideas of Communism.

As is well known, the adherents of Communism stand for the final overthrow of the imperialist yoke, for national independence, for the final destruction of the feudal yoke, the realization of democratic liberty, and for a fundamental change in the economic system, for a rise in the well-being of the Chinese people.

Therefore, Communism and Sun Yat-sen's three principles are compatible, and the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang have every ground for establishing close contact and collaboration between them. Sun Yat-sen clearly stated this out on more than one occasion in his lectures on the well-being of the people.

For example, in his second lecture on the well-being of the people, Sun Yat-sen openly criticized the mistaken character of the views of certain members of the Kuomintang regarding the incompatibility of the three principles and Communism.

Sun Yat-sen said:

... therefore, when social questions are at issue, the majority of the youth stand for the Communist Party and wish to realize Marxism in China. For what, then, does this section of the young comrades strive who defend Marxism? Their views are very good ones. Their point of view is that political and social questions require a root and branch solution. Therefore they are exerting all their efforts in organizing the Communist Party in China. Very many misunderstandings have now arisen in the minds of our old members of the Kuomintang with respect to the Communist Party, since

they consider the three principles to be incompatible with Communism." *

Hence it can be seen that Sun Yat-sen openly indicated that the opinion of certain Kuomintang members regarding the incompatibility of the three principles with Communism is a misunderstanding. Why did such a misunderstanding arise? In the same lecture Sun Yat-sen stressed the point that in general it is because these people fail to understand that all the three principles are bound up one with the other; especially do they fail to understand the teaching regarding the well-being of the people. Therefore, following this explanation Sun Yat-sen stated:

"Why do I make the bold statement that our comrades still fail to understand the teaching regarding the well-being of the people? Only because, following the reorganization of the Kuomintang, many comrades hostile to the Communist Party declare that Communism and the three principles are not one and the same thing, that in China all that should be permitted is the teaching regarding the three principles, whereas Communism must not be allowed. . . . The teaching regarding the well-being of the people is in fact Communism, Socialism. Therefore, not only can we not say that Communism and the teaching regarding the well-being of the people contradict one another, but, on the contrary, they are good friends. And people who stand for the teaching of the well-being of the people should make a careful study of Communism."

And further, Sun Yat-sen says:

"Since Communism and the teaching regarding the well-being of the people are good friends, why do members of the Kuomintang oppose Communism?"

The conclusion to be drawn is as follows: (1) The three principles of Sun Yat-sen and Communism are compatible, and supporters of these teachings can be good friends. (2) Those who consider

* Sun Yat-sen, *Collected Works*, Lecture No. 2, p. 48.

Sun Yat-sen's three principles and Communism to be incompatible actually fail to understand the teaching regarding the three principles, and particularly fail to understand the teaching regarding the well-being of the people. (3) According to Sun Yat-sen, not only should people who stand for Communism understand the teaching regarding the three principles, but at the same time people who stand for the teachings of the three principles should also make a clear and careful study of Communism. This is a clear and correct position. We Communists are in absolute agreement with this position of Sun Yat-sen.

We are honestly desirous of fighting for the realization of Sun Yat-sen's three principles, and also greet all and primarily Kuomintang comrades who, following Sun Yat-sen's behest, begin to make a careful study of Communism. We are profoundly convinced that those who desire to conduct a struggle for the liberation of mankind from oppression and exploitation, who make a study of and master Communism, Marxism, will admit, without fail, that Marxism embodies the greatest ideas in the solution of social questions, that Communist society is a most splendid, joyous and happy society. That precisely is why our great revolutionary, Sun Yat-sen, said:

"... when Communism comes into being, all will be satisfied, and the struggle of man against man will come to an end. Therefore, Communism is the highest idea for the solution of social problems." *

As regards Marx's theories, Sun Yat-sen stated:

"In reference to the works and teachings created by Marx, it can be stated that these are the apex of the best thoughts of mankind for thousands of years, and that is why his teachings, once they saw the light of day, immediately became popular. . . ."

From all the above-stated you can see once again that it is absolutely impos-

sible to find in the theory regarding the three principles established by Sun Yat-sen any indication that the teachings of the three principles and Communism are incompatible.

As regards what Sun Yat-sen did in practice in relation to this given question, everybody is aware of it. The Communist Party of China was officially established in 1921, and from the moment it was founded Sun Yat-sen's relations with the Communists were of the most friendly character. That is why from 1924 onwards Sun Yat-sen resolutely reorganized the Kuomintang and established collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China. This collaboration assumed a very close character.

Not only was a popular revolutionary bloc of the two parties established, but permission was given to Communists to enter the Kuomintang organization as individuals. At that time the Communist Party of China was small in numbers. It had only existed a few years. Nevertheless Communists joined the Kuomintang so as jointly to conduct the national revolutionary struggle.

Did Sun Yat-sen in the conditions of that time put the demand to the Communists that they adopt the three principles and give up Communism? No! Did Sun Yat-sen at that time advance the demand that only the Kuomintang exist while the legal existence of the Communist Party should be prohibited? No! Far from Sun Yat-sen himself putting forward such demands, he resolutely fought those who put them forward. This shows the farsightedness of Sun Yat-sen and his understanding of the actual situation in China.

Sun Yat-sen understood that the origin and existence of one political party or another is no accident, that a social base and historical causes exist for this. He understood that people's convictions cannot be destroyed by force. History contains innumerable examples where human beings sacrificed themselves for an idea. A political party or organization that has a social base and the support

* *Ibid.*, p. 38.

the masses cannot on any account be forcibly disbanded or destroyed. How many cases in history have there been of revolutionary organizations which, despite the most severe oppression and repression, have yet continued to exist and develop.

The present situation in China is by no means what it was formerly. The Communist Party of China already possesses a history of revolutionary struggle going back seventeen years. It has hundreds of thousands of members in its ranks. It has strong Party units that have passed through a struggle lasting many long years; it has tenacious, heroic fighting leaders, and cadres ideologically trained and steeled who are waging the struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people, for the liberation of the whole of mankind. It enjoys the confidence and support of millions of people. Now, then, can one speak of the Communists giving up their Communism, and of disbanding the Communist Party? Not only because we have declared our intention to conduct a struggle for the complete realization of Sun Yat-sen's three principles that we must give up our Communism? This is an absolutely false interpretation, for we understand the meaning of the three principles to Communism just as Sun Yat-sen did, and consider them to be in friendly relation with a compatible one with the other. We Communists fought for the national independence, democratic liberty and well-being of the masses of the people not only during the first collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C. P. of China, but also after the split, in our independent revolutionary struggle. The present situation in China is distinguished from the former period in that, under the new collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C. P. of China, the Communists, again together with the members of the Kuomintang, are conducting a national liberation struggle against the Japanese oppressors. That is why the demand of certain people that the Communists give up their Communist ideas and organization cannot be

accepted by the Communist Party, and is in direct contradiction to the theory and practice of Sun Yat-sen.

The history of China in the recent period goes to show that the first collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China gave rise to the stormy development of the revolution of 1925-27, and led to the tremendous victories in the Northern campaign, whereas the gap in the collaboration led to the establishment of a difficult situation inside the country, unparalleled for its severity, and menace from without.

At the present time the new collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China has led to the glorious defensive anti-Japanese war, to the establishment of a united political power and army unique in the history of China, to the tremendous consolidation of the forces of all parties and sections of society on a national scale. This has made it possible for all our countrymen to understand that the unity of the Chinese people is the only way and hope at this moment, so full of danger for the Chinese nation.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat once again that if the idea of the so-called dictatorship of a single party consists in that the Kuomintang should hold power in its hands, then this is already an accomplished fact, and no one has any doubts on this score.

Although we Communists do not participate in the government, we undoubtedly support the National Government leading the armed resistance to Japan.

Now it is only the Japanese-fascist military clique that "does not recognize" the National Government of China, and attempts to overthrow it. Now it is only Trotskyite bandits operating on orders of the Japanese intelligence service that can make the slanderous statement that the National Government of China is a government of a transition period, like the Kerensky government in Russia, and behave treacherously toward the National Government.

As regards our support and defense of the National Government, we are abso-

lutely sincere in this, our position being based on our attitude toward the defense of the interests of the state and the nation. At the same time, if the statement regarding the so-called dictatorship of a single party, the Kuomintang, is extended and distorted to mean that the Kuomintang does not permit the legal existence of the Communist Party and other parties, and demands of the Communists that they give up their Communism, etc., then this is no new theory at all but is the old practice.

And if it should happen that this "theory" is put into practice, this will not only inflict harm on the cause of the unification of China and of resistance to the Japanese aggressor, but will also lead to the undermining of the already established anti-Japanese united national front, and to a dangerous outcome in the matter of resistance to Japan and the salvation of the country. Therefore this "theory" can be made use of by the Japanese militarists and traitors to the country.

I do not think that this "theory" could meet with sympathy among progressive people in the Kuomintang who place so high a value on the defense of the inter-

ests of the state and nation. Still less, then, can it be said that this "theory" could meet with any sympathy at all among the wide masses of the people and the Chinese national revolutionary army, to whom the unity of the Chinese people and armed resistance to Japan are so dear.

But in so far as this question may be openly advanced at the very moment of increasing danger to the national existence of China, it cannot but give rise to serious attention on the part of Communists and all other anti-Japanese parties and fellow countrymen. This question concerns all parties and the fate of the whole Chinese nation.

I hope that all our fellow countrymen and farsighted people of all political parties in China will devote serious attention to the question raised and the tendencies of its development, and exert every effort to ensure that danger does not threaten the cause of the unification of the country, the anti-Japanese united national front, and collaboration among the various parties in China, and to solve the task of conducting armed resistance to the Japanese to the end and winning final victory.

Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

FOR SINCERE COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE KUOMINTANG AND THE
COMMUNIST PARTY, FOR A CONTINUATION OF ARMED RESISTANCE
TO JAPAN, FOR FINAL VICTORY

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

For five and one-half months already following the events in Liukuochao, army and our people, led by Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Military Council of the Chinese National Government, have been waging a heroic struggle against the bloodthirsty enemy. And though we have yielded Peiping, Tientsin, Chahar, Suiyuan, Taiyuan, Shanghai, Nanking and other towns, and have with temporary military setbacks, thanks to the superiority of the military technique of the Japanese army and the existence of weaknesses in the political, military and economic life of our country something we do not deny—our heroic struggle has shown an unparalleled awakening of the consciousness of our people and of the consolidation of their ties.

The rank and file and commanders of our army have displayed miracles of heroism and self-sacrifice in this struggle which has laid the basis for the establishment of a united state power and a united army. It has increased the confidence of our people in victory over the enemy, has dealt a partial blow at the Japanese invaders, has partly disorganized their forces, and increased their difficulties in their forward advance. The struggle has increased the internal contradictions in Japan, and at the same time has aroused the fellow feeling and sympathy of peace-loving and progres-

sive mankind toward our people and government. Thereby, the basis has now already been laid for the continuation of the anti-Japanese war and the winning of final victory.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of China makes the official declaration that the basic thought advanced by Chiang Kai-shek in his statement, published on December 17 of last year, embodied in the words: "Resist Japan to the end. We must win final victory," corresponds to the main political line of our Party at the present moment.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of China firmly believes that on the basis of this line the members of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party together with all their fellow countrymen can fight shoulder to shoulder in a common struggle.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of China addresses itself to all its honored fellow countrymen and declares that at the present moment China is passing through a very serious and difficult moment in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors. However, the partial seizure and loss of territories and central cities, and also partial victory or defeat at the front in the first period of the war, cannot determine the final outcome of the Sino-Japanese war. But the firm welding together of the 450,000,000 of our fellow countrymen and energy and confidence in the outcome of a long-

drawn-out and difficult anti-Japanese war constitute the real guarantee that we shall win final victory.

The biggest difficulty at the present time lies not in the lack of troops, not in the lack of armaments, not in financial difficulties and not in the fact that the Japanese have advanced into the heart of the country, but in the fact that the Japanese invaders, apart from their armed invasion, are attempting "to win China by the forces of the Chinese themselves," in the fact that traitors, spies, Trotskyite bandits, are intensifying their provocative work in every possible way with a view to undermining the unity of our national forces, all the more so since the unification of our forces has not yet reached the level required.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of China makes the official statement to all our fellow countrymen that now, in connection with the ever-growing danger to the very existence of the nation, the key to the saving of the situation lies in the still greater consolidation of the anti-Japanese forces of our nation.

The chief measure necessary for the consolidation of the national, anti-Japanese forces is to strengthen and extend the united anti-Japanese national front, to strengthen and extend the basic link of the national united front, *i.e.*, to increase the close collaboration between the two parties, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of China considers that at the present moment all our fellow countrymen find comfort in the fact that both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party not only recognize the need for honestly rallying their forces, but also in the fact that both parties are ready to strengthen close collaboration.

The Communist Party of China not only sincerely intends to fight shoulder to shoulder, hand in hand with the Kuomintang to save our country from the fascist aggressors, but is also ready to join with the Kuomintang in building the new China after victory has been achieved.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of China considers that at the present exceptionally tense moment, to ensure the possibility of continuing the long-drawn-out anti-Japanese war and of winning final victory, the members of the two parties—the Kuomintang and Communist Party of China—together with all their fellow countrymen—could carry through the following measures:

1. To mobilize all the military, human, intellectual, financial and material forces of the whole of China for the continuation of armed resistance to the Japanese invaders, and the defense of our country. To achieve this, it is necessary first and foremost to strengthen the Northern and Southeastern fronts, to strengthen the defenses along the River Yangtse and to protect Wuhan, to develop partisan warfare on an extensive scale in the districts occupied by the enemy, to render aid to the partisan army in Manchuria and other places so as to hold back the forward march of the enemy, to prevent the enemy penetrating into the heart of the country and to win time in which to increase our forces and to prepare for resolute struggle.

2. To strengthen and extend the All-China United People's Revolutionary Army. To achieve this it is necessary to strengthen the existing army politically and organizationally, and also, in respect to armaments, to establish new units and in organized fashion to carry through a campaign of recruitment to the army so that in our long-drawn-out anti-Japanese war we may have a politically strong, numerically adequate, army supplied with new armaments, a disciplined army with a single command, financially and economically provided for and possessing a single plan of operations.

3. To add to and strengthen the united All-China National Government. To achieve this, it is necessary resolutely to draw into participation in the work of the government authoritative and capable representatives of all the parties, groups and organizations participating in the anti-Japanese war. To renew the state machine in the provinces, purging

of bribe-takers and degenerate elements so that all the governmental functions and measures correspond to the demands of the struggle for victory in the anti-Japanese war.

4. To carry through an economic policy that secures the defense of the country. To achieve this, it is necessary first of all to hasten the creation of war industry, speed up the building of strategic roads and to operate a financial policy that corresponds to the war period.

5. To make the position behind the lines a strong one, to mobilize and organize wide masses of the working people to aid the government and army, actively to wage the war against Japan. To achieve this, it is necessary on the one hand resolutely to wipe out traitors, spies and Japanese dogs of Trotskyites, and on the other hand to conduct on a large scale the mobilization, organization and arming of the masses of the people both on the territory under the control of the Chinese Government and the districts occupied by the enemy, so that they may be able to play an active

part in the work necessary to secure victory over the Japanese. At the same time the mobilization of millions of emigrants must be intensified so that they may help their native land with all the means in their power.

6. To extend international propaganda and intensify international aid and solidarity.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of China is firmly confident that both the parties, the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China, together with all the anti-Japanese forces, will undoubtedly be able in the very near future to fulfill all the fundamental demands above mentioned.

Our great Chinese nation of 450,000,000 people, supported by the sympathy and aid of all the peoples and states that stand for justice and peace, will be able to conquer Japanese imperialism, hated as it is by the Japanese people and held in contempt by the peoples throughout the world.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE
COMMUNIST PARTY

December 25, 1937

A Great Friendship

BY N. RUBINSTEIN

THE heroic life of Lenin and Stalin embodies the entire history of the Bolshevik Party since it first came into being.

It stands to reason that the ever-growing interest of the Soviet people in the history of the struggle for socialism is directed primarily to the life and struggle of the founders of the Party, its leaders—Lenin and Stalin.

From the documents that tell of the life of Lenin, and of the struggle of one so inseparably linked up with him, his great comrade-in-arms and perpetuator, Comrade Stalin, the Soviet people draw new strength for the fight for communism, are filled with pride in the gains achieved and with confidence in victories ahead. For these documents tell the story of the struggle for the happiness of the Soviet people! They teach us love for the leaders of the great proletarian socialist revolution, and hate for its enemies, those fascist hirelings—the Trotskyites and Bukharinites.

The lives and struggle of Lenin and Stalin are inseparably blended and interwoven. Over the course of decades, Lenin and Stalin always advanced together, shoulder to shoulder. Jointly they established our Party and forged it on the anvil of great tests; jointly they crushed the enemy and led the Party to the victories of the great proletarian socialist revolution.

This inseparable contact between the founders of the Bolshevik Party overcame all obstacles and destroyed all barriers. Tens of thousands of kilometers, frontiers, exile, prisons and emigration—none of this could hinder the

unshakable unity of struggle of the leaders of the proletariat and its Party.

Despite all obstacles, Lenin and Stalin found ways and means of maintaining contact, of meeting each other, of jointly building the Party and completely routing its enemies—the Judas Trotsky and his myrmidons, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries—and of preparing the working people for the coming battles.

In the illegal Bolshevik Party newspapers, now yellow with age, in the brief letters written with the aid of illegal “chemicals,” in the historical documents of the great proletarian revolution where Lenin’s handwriting mingles with that of Stalin’s, in telegrams whose brief messages still recall the smoke and fire of the civil war—we read the history of the splendid friendship of the geniuses of toiling mankind.

* * *

At the dawn of the twentieth century Lenin and Stalin waged a stubborn struggle to establish our Party. “What to Begin With?” “What Is To Be Done?”—these were the questions raised by Lenin before a small corps of professional revolutionaries to whom he developed his brilliant plan of building the revolutionary Party of the proletariat.

Answering these very questions of Lenin—“What To Begin With?”, “What Is To Be Done?”—were the remarkable activities of Comrade Stalin in the Transcaucasian region.

In the struggle to establish the Party of the proletariat, Lenin and Stalin learned to know of each other long be-

re they became personally acquainted. The struggle waged by Comrade Stalin—the founder of the Leninist-Iskra organization in the Transcaucasus—was immediately appraised by Lenin.

It is no accident therefore that from the very first issue which appeared in September, 1901, the newspaper *Brdzola* (*The Struggle*), established by Comrade Stalin together with Lado Ketskhoveli, as well as the manifestoes and leaflets published by the *Iskra* adherents in the Transcaucasus under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, were warmly greeted by Lenin. It was with extraordinarily close attention that Lenin followed the activities of the Caucasian Committee, organized and led by Comrade Stalin. Issue after issue, the Leninist *Iskra* responded to the activities of this Caucasian Committee and warmly greeted and supported the *Iskra* followers in the Transcaucasus headed by Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin fought against the "legal Marxists" and Economists, and after the Second Party Congress defended Lenin's position with iron irrefutability and consistency against the Mensheviks; he was tireless in developing the ideas of Lenin and propagated them among the working people of the Transcaucasus.

So a member of one of his study circles, Comrade Stalin said:

"If you come across a copy of *Iskra* read it carefully and pay special attention to articles signed 'N. L.' [to Lenin's initials]."

"I first made the acquaintance of Lenin in 1903," said Comrade Stalin in a speech on Lenin, January 28, 1924. It is true that this was not a personal acquaintance, it was an acquaintance established by correspondence. But this left an ineradicable impression upon me which has never left me all the time I have been working for the Party. At the time I was in exile in Siberia. My introduction to the revolutionary activity of Lenin at the end of the nineties, and especially after 1901, after the publication of *Iskra*, convinced me that Lenin

was a man out of the ordinary."*

"... A leader of a superior type, a mountain eagle, who knew no fear in struggle, and who boldly led the Party forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement"—such was the profound judgment of Lenin's genius made by Comrade Stalin from his Siberian exile.

"This impression," said Comrade Stalin, "was so deeply ingrained in my mind that I felt that I must write about him to one of my intimate friends who was then in exile abroad, and to ask him to give me his opinion of Lenin. After a short time, when I was already in exile in Siberia—this was at the end of 1903—I received an enthusiastic letter from my friend and a simple but very profound letter from Lenin, to whom it appears that my friend had communicated my letter. Lenin's letter was relatively a short one, but it contained a bold, fearless criticism of the practical work of our Party, and a remarkably clear and concise outline of a whole plan of work of the Party for the immediate period. Lenin alone was able to write about the most complicated things so simply and clearly, so concisely and boldly—so that every sentence seems, not to speak, but to ring out like a shot. This simple and bold letter still more strengthened me in my opinion that in Lenin we had the mountain eagle of our Party. . . . From that time my acquaintanceship with Lenin began."**

Comrade Stalin wrote letters full of enthusiasm for Lenin to a group of Bolsheviks in Leipzig. He was delighted with Lenin, with his undeviating, purely Marxian tactic, etc. In one of his letters, Comrade Stalin called Lenin the "mountain eagle" and expresses his enthusiasm at Lenin's relentless struggle against the Mensheviks. These letters were sent on to Lenin who in his reply called Stalin "the ardent man from the Kolkhida."

In January, 1904, after Comrade Stalin's first escape from Siberian exile, and his arrival first at Batum and later in

* J. Stalin, *Lenin*, p. 21, Little Lenin Library, International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid*, p. 22.

Tbilisi, Lenin's contact with Stalin grew apace. In the struggle for the Party, against the Mensheviks and conciliators, the organization of Caucasian Bolsheviks, led by Stalin, was Lenin's most important bulwark.

It is not surprising that at the Third Congress of the Party Lenin in his draft resolution, later accepted by the Congress, pointed out specifically that regarding the events in the Caucasus, the "special conditions of social and political life in the Caucasus favored the establishment there of the most militant organizations of our Party." *

* * *

The 1905 Revolution. . . . Lenin led the work of the Party first from abroad and then returned to Russia at the very height of the revolutionary events. Comrade Stalin was rousing the working class and peasantry of the Transcaucasian region to the fight against the tsarist regime.

The issues of the Leninist paper *Proletarii* and Stalin's paper *Proletariatia Brdzola* (*Struggle of the Proletariat*), published in the summer and autumn of 1905, clearly showed how in the very heat of the revolutionary events, in the struggle against the Mensheviks, the friendship of Lenin and Stalin gained strength. Stalin reprinted in the *Struggle of the Proletariat* Lenin's article, "The Third Congress," which had been published in the *Proletarii*. Lenin reprinted in the *Proletarii* Stalin's article, "The Third Congress Before the Court of the Caucasian Mensheviks," accompanied by an editorial note.

"The Caucasian League," wrote Lenin in this note, "calmly and in detail refutes in its organ the arguments advanced by the Mensheviks and gives excellent proof of the genuine basis of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. . . ." **

In one of her letters to Tbilisi, N. K.

* Lenin, *Miscellany*, Vol. XXVI., p. 237, Russian ed.

** Lenin, *Miscellany*, Vol. XVI, p. 132.

Krupskaya pointed to the "excellent impression" created by the *Struggle of the Proletariat*, which had just been received. Lenin and Stalin—Lenin in the pages of the *Proletarii* and in his *Two Tactics*, and Stalin in the pages of the *Struggle of the Proletariat*—jointly conducted a struggle against Menshevism, jointly directed crushing blows against one of its basest leaders, Noya Jordania. Comrade Stalin in his pamphlet *On Party Differences*, and in his article, *Reply to a Social Democrat*, developed the ideas expressed by Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*

Comrade Stalin's pamphlet *On Party Differences* was published soon after Trotsky had insolently tried in that vile booklet of his, *Our Political Tasks*, to slander Lenin's brilliant work, *What Is To Be Done?* Stalin's work, *About Party Differences*, as well as his article, *Reply to a Social-Democrat*, took up the defense of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* and delivered a crushing blow at Trotsky, the mouthpiece of Menshevism.

On receiving the issue of the *Struggle of the Proletariat* containing Stalin's article, *Reply to a Social-Democrat*, Lenin published a very high estimation of this article in the *Proletarii*. In his review Lenin gave a detailed outline of the basic thoughts in Stalin's article and warmly greeted its publication with the following words:

"In the article, *Reply to a Social-Democrat*, we note the excellent presentation of the question about the famous 'introduction of consciousness from without.'"

Lenin and Stalin met personally for the first time in December, 1905, at the conference in Tammerfors.

"Extraordinary power of conviction," said Comrade Stalin later in describing his impressions of this meeting. "Simplicity and clarity in argumentation, short sentences intelligible to all, the absence of all posing, the absence of violent gesticulations and high-sounding phrases playing for effect—all this favorably distinguished Lenin's speeches from the speeches of the ordinary 'parliamentary' orators.

"But it was not this aspect of Lenin's

speeches that captivated me at the time. I was captivated by the invincible power of logic in Lenin's speeches, which, though somewhat dry, nevertheless completely overcomes the audience, gradually petrifies it, and then holds the whole audience captive."*

At the Tammerfors conference Comrade Stalin made a speech in defense of Lenin's tactics of activity boycotting the State Duma. He also delivered a report on the activities of the Transcaucasian Bolshevik organization. Lenin and Stalin together participated in the work of the commission elected by the conference to edit the resolution on the State Duma.

A few months later, Lenin and Stalin met in Stockholm at the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the Party. In recalling this meeting in later years Comrade Stalin said:

"Hatred for snivelling intellectuals, confidence in one's own strength, confidence in victory—this is what Lenin told us about at that time."**

This hatred, this confidence in one's strength, in victory, filled the speeches of Lenin and Stalin at the Fourth Congress.

In his first speech on the agrarian problem Comrade Stalin sharply attacked Plekhanov's onslaught on Lenin.

"... We could say something of the 'pet' inclinations of Comrade Plekhanov..."*** were the words Comrade Stalin hurled in the face of the Mensheviks.

Comrade Stalin resolutely exposed the opportunist character of the Menshevik municipalization program. It is no wonder that Dan, the leader of the Mensheviks, was compelled to defend himself in his speech both against Lenin and Stalin.

At this Congress Comrade Stalin also spoke on the current situation and the

Joseph Stalin, *Lenin*, pp. 23-24.

Ibid., p. 24.

Minutes of the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

class tasks of the proletariat, defending Lenin's position. In a brilliant, brief speech, Comrade Stalin showed the opportunist essence of the speeches of Martinov and other Mensheviks aimed against Lenin.

"Either the hegemony of the proletariat or the hegemony of the democratic bourgeoisie—this is how the question stands in the Party, this is the content of our differences."*

Comrade Stalin also came out in defense of Lenin's position on the question of the attitude towards the State Duma. Comrade Stalin dealt crushing blows against Axelrod and Plekhanov in defense of Lenin's thesis that "The Duma does not really constitute power." "Comrade Plekhanov's ideas of this Duma are altogether too rosy," said Comrade Stalin.

The unity of Lenin and Stalin in the struggle against Menshevism was clearly expressed at the Fourth (Unity) Congress. On all basic questions Lenin spoke as the reporter at the Congress, while Stalin spoke in the discussion, both of them waging a resolute battle against Menshevism.

Almost at the very same time Lenin, in December, 1906, in Finland, and Comrade Stalin in February, 1907, in the Transcaucasus, wrote prefaces to Kautsky's pamphlet *The Motive Forces and Perspectives of the Russian Revolution*.

Lenin attacked Plekhanov and in his preface developed the basic thesis of Bolshevik tactics: "The bourgeois revolution carried through by the proletariat and the peasantry despite the instability of the bourgeoisie."** The same ideas were developed by Stalin in his preface in which he also attacked Plekhanov and Martinov.

"The Bolsheviks, however," wrote Comrade Stalin, basing himself on Lenin's *Two Tactics*, "say that it is true that ours is a bourgeois revolution, but this by no means implies that it is a repe-

* *Ibid.*

** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. X, p. 230, Russian ed.

tition of the French revolution; hence it also does not imply that it must be led without fail by the bourgeoisie . . . the main forces of the present revolution are the proletariat and the peasantry. . . .”*

Together with Lenin, Stalin dealt crushing blows at the Mensheviks at the Fifth Party Congress. In two declarations, signed by him and read at the Congress, Comrade Stalin exposed the Caucasian Mensheviks and their liberal tactics on the question of the State Duma, and defended Lenin's position.

* * *

The revolution of 1905-07 was suppressed. Reaction was triumphant. . . . Lenin was compelled to remain abroad. Comrade Stalin was arrested and exiled to Vologda Province. But he soon escaped to Baku, and in circumstances of furious reaction he rallied the Bolshevik cadres around Lenin's banner.

For a long time, until 1913, the tsarist autocracy deprived Lenin and Stalin of the possibility of meeting one another, but it could not break their joint struggle.

Stalin's great activity in Baku met with an immediate response with Lenin. When Jordania, leader of the Georgian Mensheviks, maliciously attacked the *Letters from the Caucasus* in which Comrade Stalin relentlessly struck out at the Georgian Mensheviks and particularly Jordania, Lenin wrote in the spring of 1910 that Jordania “by his articles continues the very grave charges advanced by the author of *Letters from the Caucasus*, Comrade K. C.”**

In the struggle against the liquidators, against that “most foul factionalist and careerist” Judas Trotsky, against the double-dealing of Kamenev and Zinoviev, the conciliatory line of Rykov—Lenin based himself on Stalin's *Letters from the Caucasus* which represented the Leninist line, Lenin's slogans in action in Russia.

* Quoted from *The Question of the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in the Trans-Caucasians*, by L. Beria.

** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIV, p. 317, Russian ed.

In the same year, 1910, the tsarist government again hurled Comrade Stalin into prison, and later exiled him for the third time, this time to the remote town of Solvichegodsk in the Vologda Province. Despite all obstacles, Comrade Stalin found ways and means of corresponding with Lenin. He ardently supported Lenin in his struggle against the liquidators, both of the Right and “Left,” against Trotsky, against the conciliators Kamenev, Rykov, Nogin, and the double-dealer Zinoviev.

“First of all, my warm greetings to Lenin . . .” wrote Comrade Stalin from Solvichegodsk. Comrade Stalin associated himself with Lenin's tactics, and showed no mercy whatsoever in attacking Trotsky's foul tactics.

“The Trotskyite bloc [he would say ‘synthesis’] is a rotten, unprincipled Manilov* combination of heterogeneous principles, the helpless longing of an unprincipled person for a ‘good’ principle.”

Of tremendous importance was the plan for organizing work in Russia outlined by Comrade Stalin in this same letter to Lenin:

“To my mind,” wrote Comrade Stalin, “the next urgent task for us, one which admits of no delay, is the organization of a central (Russian) group, uniting the illegal, semi-legal and legal work, at first in the main centers (Petersburg, Moscow, the Urals, the South). . . . This to my mind will mark the beginning of a revival in Party activity.”

It is a known fact that the Prague Conference of the Bolshevik Party which met a year after this letter of Comrade Stalin, elected, on Lenin's proposal, a small bureau of the Central Committee with Comrade Stalin at its head. This bureau was in fact the “Central Group” referred to by Stalin in his letter to Lenin and played a colossal role in consolidating the Bolshevik organizations and in bringing about an advance in the Party's work.

* Manilov, a character from Gogol's book *Dead Souls*.—Trans.

Comrade Stalin wrote to Lenin that as prepared to make a getaway from place of exile: "If workers are really needed so urgently than I can get away immediately." And within a very short time Comrade Stalin did actually make a getaway from exile to Petersburg, where he developed on a tremendous scale and rallied together the Bolshevik organization.

Lenin once again responded to this activity of Comrade Stalin. In his article *From the Camp of the Stolipin "Labor"*, written in September, 1911, and directed against the Liquidators and Trotsky, Lenin began with a brilliant appraisal of Comrade Stalin's correspondence from Petersburg published in the *Iskra-Democrat*. In these letters Comrade Stalin describes in detail a meeting of workers, Party members in the Vyborg district, at which the question of abolishing and consolidating the disorganization was discussed. Comrade Stalin wrote that the workers present, including even Mensheviks, thoroughly upset the plans of the right wing, a Liquidator, and unanimously—only the reporter against—decided to strengthen the illegal Party organization that was conducting legal and illegal work. This meeting was the best illustration of the results of Stalin's work in the Vyborg district.

Lenin immediately evaluated the importance for the whole Party of Stalin's

the correspondent of Comrade K," Lenin, "deserves the greatest honor of all those who hold the Party together. It is difficult to visualize a better policy of the *Golos* policy (and *Golos* policy), a better refutation of the plans and hopes of our 'conciliators and compromisers.' These Liquidators do not come across Party workers, very much does the Party receive such pre-reports regarding their disgraceful actions and we have to thank Comrade Stalin for this report. . . ."

the basis of Stalin's correspon-

I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 217, Russian Edition.

dence, Lenin in this same article exposed the efforts of Trotsky and his ilk, as well as of the "compromisers" Kamenev and Zinoviev, who resorted to double-dealing and covered up the Liquidators.

Comrade Stalin was again arrested on September 9, 1911, and was soon again exiled to Solvichegodsk. At the Prague Conference, on Lenin's proposal, Comrade Stalin was elected to the Central Committee of the Party in his absence. In February, 1912, he again escaped from exile, returned to Petersburg and on instructions of the Central Committee made a tour of the most important districts of Russia.

The activity of Comrade Stalin, who prepared the movement of the working class in May, 1912, was of first-rate importance. The May Day leaflet written by Comrade Stalin, was evaluated by Lenin as the "*most important document in the history of the labor movement in Russia and in the history of our Party.*" *

Lenin emphasized that the movement of the Petersburg proletariat in May, 1912, confirmed the correctness of the Prague Conference decisions.

"It turned out," wrote Lenin, "that after the destruction of the Petersburg Committee, at a time when it was impossible immediately to reestablish, under conditions of the exclusively ideological and not organizational influence of one group of workers over another, the slogans were accepted of the All-Russian Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in January, 1912, which really evoked the wild, furious hatred of liberals, Liquidators, Leiber, Trotsky and Co.!"**

Lenin was uneasy regarding the fate of Comrade Stalin. He wrote in a letter dated March 28, 1912: "Nothing has been received from Ivanovich; what is he doing? Where is he? How is he?" Lenin's alarm was not unfounded. For on April 22, 1912, Comrade Stalin was again arrested in Petersburg, and again, for the fifth time, banished to exile, this time to distant Narim. But within a few

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XV, p. 539. My italics—N. R.

** *Ibid.*, p. 540.

months he again escaped from exile, returned to Petersburg and resumed his work that had been interrupted by arrest and exile.

"This was really the heroic struggle of Bolshevik-minded workers for the Party," wrote Comrade Stalin in later years about this period, "because the agents of tsarism were on the alert, persecuting and wiping out the Bolsheviks, while without a legal cover the Party, compelled to go underground, was not in a position to develop further."

In this situation, Comrade Stalin was directly in charge of the *Pravda*. He dealt blow after blow against the Liquidators and conciliators in the camp of Judas-Trotsky. On October 18, 1912, *Pravda* published a remarkable editorial by Stalin entitled *Who Has Won*, devoted to the results of the voting for "electors" to the Fourth State Duma. In these elections the Liquidators, by hiding their program, succeeded in getting their people in, but despite this temporary defeat, Comrade Stalin's article was full of optimism and confidence in victory.

On receiving the *Pravda* which contained Stalin's article, Lenin immediately responded to it.

"I cannot," he wrote, "help expressing my greetings to you in connection with the editorial in No. 146. At a moment of the defeat inflicted not by Social-Democrats (an analysis of the election results clearly shows that it was not the votes of the Social-Democrats that got the Liquidators in), the Editorial Board immediately took up a correct, firm and worthy tone."*

In fighting for the utilization of legal possibilities, Comrade Stalin drew up a draft of instructions from the Petersburg workers to their deputy in the Duma. In brief and simple words, these instructions formulated the demands of the working class and its Party as presented to working class deputies in the Duma.

Comrade Stalin sent this draft to

Lenin. Lenin attached exceptional importance to Stalin's draft instructions. The proofs of this draft are exhibited in the Central V. I. Lenin Museum and bear Lenin's note:

"To be returned without fail! Do not soil. Extremely important to preserve this document."

When the *Pravda* was late in publishing these instructions, Lenin wrote a letter on November 26, 1912, to the Editorial Board in which he took the Editorial Board severely to task for this error and demanded that the instructions be published. He wrote:

"These instructions for the Petersburg deputies must be printed without fail, and in a prominent place in bold type. It is altogether impermissible that the *Luch* distorts the instructions, is already referring to and publishes items about them, whereas the *Pravda*, whose adherents drew up, carried out and circulated these instructions, remains silent. . . . What is the meaning of this? Can a working class paper exist if it takes such a light-hearted attitude towards things of interest to the workers?"*

Ten days later, on December 6, 1912, Lenin sent Stalin a letter, written in invisible ink, regarding preparatory work for meetings, strikes and demonstrations in connection with the anniversary of January 9, 1905, and regarding the leadership of the work of the Duma faction in the struggle against the Liquidators.

"Write more often, write more and in greater detail," wrote Lenin to Stalin.**

How Lenin evaluated Stalin's work in the *Pravda* is clearly seen from another letter to the *Pravda* editorial board sent by Vladimir Ilyich on February 21, 1913.

"Dear colleagues," wrote Lenin, "allow me first of all to congratulate you on the tremendous improvement in the paper to be noticed in recent days. I congratulate you and wish you further success along this path."***

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIX, p. 78, Russian Edition.

** *Ibid.*, p. 82.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 89.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIX, p. 75, Russian Edition.

At the beginning of 1913, Comrade Stalin went to visit Lenin abroad and spent several weeks in Krakow and Vienna where he worked on his book, *The National Question and Social-Democracy*. This work of Comrade Stalin solved a very important Party problem: it counterposed the clearcut Bolshevik line on the national question to the furious wave of jingoism and nationalism in all countries, to opportunism, both of the open and "Left" kind. It was not for nothing that Lenin once wrote to Gorky: "Regarding the national question, I fully agree with you that we must take it up more seriously." Lenin told Gorky about Comrade Stalin's work:

"We have a splendid Georgian who has got down to work and is writing a large article for *Prosvetshenie*, having collected all the Austrian and other materials."*

Immediately after Comrade Stalin's book was published, Lenin pointed to its exceptional importance and value for the Party. In an article entitled, "Regarding the National Program of the R.S.D.L.P.," Lenin wrote that "in view of the complete clarity regarding the state of affairs" he did not dwell on the question of

"... how and in what way the national question has at the present moment come to the forefront both in the entire policy of the counter-revolution, in the class consciousness of the bourgeoisie and in the proletarian Social-Democratic Party of Russia.

"In theoretical Marxian literature," Lenin emphasized, "*This* state of affairs and the fundamentals of the national program have already been expounded recently (*primarily Comrade Stalin's article stands out here*)."

The views of Lenin and Stalin on the national question were formulated in the resolutions of the August (summer) Conference of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and Party officials held in 1913.

* Lenin, *Miscellany*, Vol. I, p. 134.

** Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII, p. 116. Italics mine—N. R.

Each interval in the correspondence with Stalin worried Vladimir Ilyich. It was known that Comrade Stalin was engaged in a colossal amount of work in Petersburg and throughout the country, and was in constant danger of being arrested. N. K. Krupskaya, in a letter of March 8, 1913, asked:

"Why is there no news from Vassily [Stalin]? What has happened to him? We are uneasy."

Two days later N. K. Krupskaya in one of her letters formulated Lenin's plan for the organization of the entire Party work in Russia under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin.

"... Very good care must be taken of him [Stalin]," says this letter. "... The task is as follows: With his help we must organize, set going and systematize the everyday work of Mathew [the Duma fraction—N. R.] in the *Dyen* [*Pravda*] at work (direct) and in other spheres... If we succeed in doing this, then in one or two months the whole picture will change."

The arrest of Comrade Stalin in the spring of 1913 and his exile for the sixth time, on this occasion to the far-off Turukhansk territory, separated him from Lenin for almost four years.

After Comrade Stalin's arrest, N. K. Krupskaya, who transmitted Lenin's directives, wrote to Petersburg:

"Dear Friends, we have just received a letter conveying the sad news. The situation requires great firmness and even more solidarity."

* * *

The war of 1914... Lenin fought a ruthless struggle against the social-chauvinists, routed Trotsky, Bukharin, Pyatakov, the double-dealing Zinoviev, the cowardly opportunist Kamenev. And Stalin's words reached Lenin in Geneva from the far-off banks of the Yenesei River.

Stalin's letter to Lenin, written from his place of exile on February 27, 1915, is full of warm love for Vladimir Ilyich and inexhaustible cheerfulness, confidence in victory over the social-chauvin-

ists. Stalin wrote: "My greetings to you, dear Ilyich, warm, warm greetings!"

In his remote exile Turukhansk, at the very Polar Circle, Comrade Stalin raised high the Leninist banner. At a conference of exiled Bolsheviks who at bottom constituted the Russian group of the Bolshevik Central Committee, he rallied them around Lenin's slogans and resolutely repulsed the traitor Kamenev.

The February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917. . . . While yet en route from Turukhansk, Comrade Stalin sent a telegram to Lenin who was abroad in which he conveyed fraternal greetings and reported that he had left for Petrograd. On reaching Petrograd from exile in March, 1917, Comrade Stalin conducted a relentless struggle against the enemies of Lenin's line—Kamenev, the Trotskyites, Rykov.

Comrade Stalin's articles in *Pravda*, for example, his articles on the Soviets, were in harmony with Lenin's ideas expressed in his *Letters from Afar*. Thus in the whirlwind of events, deprived of the possibility of jointly discussing the situation, Lenin and Stalin defined the single line of the Bolshevik Party in the February bourgeois-democratic revolution.

On April 3, Comrade Stalin met Lenin at Byelooostrov and together with him alighted from the train at the Finland station in Petrograd. From this day on, Lenin and Stalin guided the preparations for the great proletarian revolution.

At the Seventh (April) Conference, Lenin and Stalin together defeated the treacherous policy of Kamenev, Pyatakov, Rykov, and directed the Party towards the objective of the bourgeois-democratic revolution developing into a socialist revolution.

Like Lenin, Stalin opposed the Menshevik demand of control over the Provisional Government as proposed by Kamenev. He showed the illusory character of such "control," exposed Kamenev, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

"The alliance, concluded between the Soviet and the government on the day following the crisis (Milyukov's action),

signifies that the Soviet has followed the lead of the government," declared Comrade Stalin.

"We shall not agree to control," declared Comrade Lenin at the conference. "What has control give us? Nothing. After Milyukov's action . . . the illusory character of this control becomes particularly clear"—these were the words Comrade Stalin hurled at Kamenev at the April Conference.

At this conference, Comrade Stalin was reporter on one of the main points on the agenda—the national question. He mercilessly crushed the Trotskyite Pyatakov who opposed the self-determination of nations. Lenin took part in the discussion on Comrade Stalin's report and made a big speech in which he also exposed Pyatakov. Lenin's speech, the report and concluding remarks of Comrade Stalin all aimed at one point. They crushed one and the same enemy, they defended the Bolshevik, Leninist-Stalinist line in the national question.

This draft resolution on the national question adopted by the conference was drawn up jointly by Lenin and Stalin. This document marks the beginning of a whole series of historical documents of the great proletarian socialist revolution in which the handwriting of its creators and leaders are interwoven.

May and June, 1917, were also months crowded with a tremendous amount of organizational work conducted by Lenin hand in hand with Comrade Stalin. Lenin and Stalin both took part in the conference of military organizations of the Bolshevik Party, and jointly repulsed the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in June, 1917. In one of the issues of *Pravda*, two articles appeared side by side: Lenin's *June 18* and Stalin's *The Protest Demonstration*. In these articles Lenin and Stalin shattered to pieces the slander of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and proved that the action of the Petersburg workers and soldiers on June 18 was not an ordinary demonstration but a political demonstration of action.

At the most decisive moments, Stalin was at Lenin's side. Such was also the

se in the July days of 1917 when Comrade Stalin led the movement on behalf of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

In these days Comrade Stalin saved Lenin's life for the Party, for the people, for the whole of mankind. Comrade Stalin sharply opposed the treacherous demands of Trotsky, Rykov and Kameny who insisted upon giving Lenin up to the bestial counter-revolution. Comrade Sergo Orjonikidze, in his memoirs, recalls the struggle Stalin then had to withstand:

"Vladimir Ilyich with the clearness which was so characteristic of him, proved that there would be no open trial. Stalin absolutely opposed Lenin appearing before the authorities. 'The Junkers will not even take him to prison, they will kill him on the way,' declared Stalin."

Only many years later did it become known how full of foresight were Comrade Stalin's words, for the detachment of Junkers that were on the hunt after Lenin had very explicit instructions to murder Lenin by staging an "attempt to escape."

Comrade Stalin who organized Lenin's existence underground maintained contact with him all the time and kept him informed of the political situation. Lenin and Stalin in these most difficult conditions, jointly mapped out the line of the Party. Comrade Stalin directly led the work of the Sixth Party Congress. At this congress he made two basic reports: the political report of the Central Committee and the report on the political situation. With enormous force and with, Comrade Stalin defended the Leninist viewpoint, crushing Bukharin and Preobrazhensky who attempted to juggle in Trotsky's "theory" about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country.

The work of the congress, the speeches and statements of Stalin were imbued with the spirit of Lenin, of his firm leadership and his output, concrete directions. Fulfilling the behest of Lenin, Stalin rallied the Party and the urgent and decisive question

of the overthrow of the bourgeois government and the seizure of power by the proletariat and the poorest peasantry."*

The inseparable ideological unity of Lenin and Stalin found its clear expression also during the Kornilov days. The complicated character of the situation required quick orientation. While mapping out the tactical directives for the Party from his position of illegality, while exposing the treacherous line of Kameny, Trotsky and Zinoviev, Lenin expressed the fear that his directives would come too late "because events are developing with a speed which is sometimes dizzying."**

But Lenin's apprehension was groundless. Even before he received Lenin's letter, Comrade Stalin defended Lenin's position on the question of Kornilov, and gave the corresponding guidance to the Party on this question, through the Party press. Lenin received issues of the paper *Rabochy* containing leading articles by Comrade Stalin, before the dispatch of the letter. And Lenin, having already written the direction added the following postscript:

"P. S.—After having written this, I have read six issues of the *Rabochy* and must say that our views are entirely identical. From the bottom of my heart I greet the magnificent leading articles. . . . Once again, the best greetings and good wishes!"

In the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Stalin was tireless in crushing the strikebreakers, Kameny and Zinoviev.

When Lenin's letters, *Should the Bolsheviks Seize Power?* and *Marxism and Revolt* were received, it was Stalin who exposed the base attempts of Kameny to hide Lenin's advice from the Party and thereby to ruin the preparations for the uprising, and who got the decision through the Central Committee regard-

* *History of the Civil War in the U.S.S.R.*, Vol. I. International Publishers, New York.

** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 116, Russian edition.

ing the dispatch of these letters to the most important Party organizations.

After Lenin returned from his position in hiding in Finland and came to Petrograd, it was with Stalin first and foremost that he met, and from whom he received information regarding the situation.

On Comrade Stalin's proposal there took place the historic meeting of the Central Committee on October 23 at which Lenin's resolution on the armed uprising was adopted.

At an enlarged session of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. together with the Executive Committee of the Petersburg committee, the Petersburg Regional Committee, the military organization and representatives of the Bolshevik groups in the Petrograd Soviet, trade unions, factory committees and of the railwaymen, that took place on October 29, Lenin and Stalin both denounced the traitors, Kamenev and Zinoviev.

"The position is clear," said Lenin in his report. "Either the dictatorship of the Kornilov gang, or the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasantry."

Comrade Stalin made short shrift of the defeatist statements made by Kamenev and Zinoviev, and exposed their counter-revolutionary essence.

"The proposals made by Kamenev and Zinoviev," said he, "objectively lead to the possibility of the counter-revolution organizing its forces."

At this same session of the Central Committee, Comrade Stalin was elected to the military-revolutionary directing body that has gone down in history under the glorious name of the "General Staff of the October Revolution."

On October 24, on the eve of the uprising, there appeared an issue of the *Rabochy Put* (one of the names of the *Pravda*, which was closed down on more than one occasion by the Provisional Government).

The first column of this issue contained two articles, a leading article

entitled, "What Do We Need?" and an article headed, "New Deception of the Peasants by the Party 'Socialist-Revolutionaries.'"

The article, "New Deception of the Peasants by the Party of 'Socialist-Revolutionaries'" exposed the landlord policy of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and advanced the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!" "The present government of the landowners and capitalists must be replaced by a new government of workers and peasants"—such was the answer given in the leading article to the question as to what was needed. Both articles were a program of the uprising. It was not for nothing that extracts from the leading article were in large type and printed as slogans at the top of the column. The article, "New Deception of the Peasants by the Party of 'Socialist-Revolutionaries,'" was signed by N. Lenin. The leading article, "What Do We Need?" was the work of Comrade Stalin.

Thus it was that at the decisive moment the call of the leaders of the great proletarian socialist revolution, Lenin and Stalin, rang out from the pages of the central organ of the Bolshevik Party.

Lenin and Stalin jointly undertook the direct guidance of the October battles, organized the routing of Kerensky and Krasnov. It is well known that at one of the decisive moments, Lenin and Stalin came to the military-revolutionary committee and demanded complete subordination to the instructions of the Central Committee in the leading of operations against Krasnov. At the turning points that decided the fate of the revolution, Lenin and Stalin jointly made responsible decisions. When the counter-revolutionary headquarters tried to provoke the soldiers, Lenin and Stalin, on November 22, telephoned the rebel general Dukhonin, commander-in-chief, and demanded of him the immediate beginning of negotiations with the Germans regarding an armistice. After Dukhonin's refusal, Lenin and Stalin dismissed him and addressed a radio appeal to the army to take the question of peace into its own hands.

(To be continued in next issue.)

The Strike of the Paris Metal Workers

BY T. ALVAREZ

THE campaign of the French reactionaries and capitalists against the People's Front is indissolubly connected with the offensive of German fascism on the international arena. Precisely now, after the occupation of Austria by German troops and the increased Italo-German intervention in Spain, the reactionaries have considered it timely to begin their offensive. Their hatred of the People's Front spurs them on to the most monstrous crimes against the people. They systematically raise the prices of food products, disorganize production and sabotage the defense of the country. The fascist leagues are increasing their activity, posting up placards and leaflets calling for action against the parties of the People's Front, and preparing a repetition of the bloody events of February 1934.

Henri de Kerillis, the mouthpiece of the fascist and reactionary forces in the country, demands the establishment of a Government of "Public Safety" made up of five or six people, the dissolution of Parliament on a vacation lasting one to two years, the introduction of a press censorship, the immediate revision of the constitution and the disbanding of the trade union organizations. *Le Temps*, organ of the Comité des Forges, has openly spoken about the need "to change the program, methods, political climate."

The big employers are rendering the economic situation in the country acute, provoking conflicts in industry by refusing to satisfy the just demands of the working class.

In the metal industry of the Paris dis-

trict, which is engaged to a considerable degree on national defense orders, the employers, determined to split the People's Front, violated the social legislation won by the working class after the general strike of June, 1936, by the mass dismissal of active trade union workers, by refusing to sign collective agreements which expired as far back as February, to raise wages in accordance with the increased cost of living, etc. Workers' wages were raised 25 per cent whereas the prices of food products were up 43 per cent.

The irreconcilable attitude of the employers in refusing to fulfil the minimum demands of the workers compelled the latter to resort to strike action.

On March 24 the 20,000 workers employed in the Citroen plant declared a strike which was soon joined by the workers of other big plants in the Paris district, such as the "Gnome et Rhone," Ferodo, Rosengard, Nieuport, etc. The strikers occupied the plants with a view to overcoming the resistance of the employers, a resistance dictated more by political than by economic considerations.

From the very outset of the strike the Metal Workers' Union of the Paris District displayed the maximum readiness to arrive at agreement. A few days after the declaration of the strike, the Government Parity Commission issued proposals containing the following points:

The most important articles of the new collective agreement which had till then been sabotaged by the employers must now become the subject of discussion; a solution must be reached on the question

of the introduction of a sliding scale of wages payment, but even before this the minimum wage must be raised; the government undertook to improve the position of the small and middle-sized firms by giving them war orders in part.

These proposals were accepted by the strikers' representatives. But the employers' representatives prevented the acceptance of the conditions embodied in this agreement by declaring their refusal to engage in any further negotiations until the workers evacuated the plants. But the evacuation of the plants would have meant making it possible for the employers to continue to sabotage the demands of the workers.

On March 28 a delegation of the Metal Workers' Union of the Paris District, including Enaf, Secretary of the Paris Trades Council, Jouhaux, General Secretary of the C.G.T. (General Federation of Labor) and others, was received by Leon Blum, then head of the government. At this conference it was decided to call a wider conference made up of representatives of the strikers, and in which the Ministers of Aviation and of National Defense should take part. This conference took place on March 29. There the workers' representatives made proposals (the rationalization of labor, the elimination of delay in supplying raw materials, etc.), which would render it possible to reduce the cost of production of the products of the metal industry by from 10 to 30 per cent. The workers' representatives proposed that the saving resulting from these proposals should be utilized to satisfy the demands of the strikers regarding the increase of wages to correspond to the rise in prices.

These proposals, as well as the proposals drawn up by the Blum government, demanding immediate arbitration, the renewal of work, the non-operation of any sanctions whatsoever against the workers, etc., were rejected by the employers. The Blum government was also partly to blame, for it possessed all the means whereby to compel the employers to yield to its decision, on the basis of the country's military needs.

That is why, as a result of the failure to secure the satisfaction of their elementary demands, the metal workers' strike began to extend. As a protest against the dismissal of 150 workers, a strike was declared by the workers employed in a number of plants in the suburbs of Paris. As a protest against a threatened lock-out the workers of the Cymba automobile plant went on strike and occupied the plant. The workers of the Renault, Bloch, Erikson and other plants also struck work. The total number of strikers in the Paris District reached about 150,000.

The reactionary bourgeois press of all shades did everything possible to picture the strike of the Paris metal workers as a political act, as an act demanding of the government "armed intervention in the affairs of Spain," as a strike of solidarity with the Blum government, by the working people against the Senate that had only endorsed credits amounting to five billion francs instead of the eight billion requested. And in this regard they were rendered invaluable service by Trotskyite provocateurs and certain factory units of the Socialist Party under the influence of Trotskyite elements.

In a statement issued by the Metal Workers' Union, the union leadership warned the workers against acts of provocation, and expressed its surprise at the fact that certain groups connected with the party that was at the head of the government were advancing slogans that ran counter to the advice of the former head of the government. The Paris Trade Council made a similar statement. In a letter to the metal workers from one of the area committees of the Communist Party in Paris, the organizers of these acts of provocation were mentioned by name.

The Paris Region Communist Party Committee, declaring its wholehearted solidarity with the strikers, pointed out that Socialist Party units in certain plants were not subordinating themselves to the decisions of the trade unions but were collecting signatures in favor of a strike in support of the Blum govern-

ment, against the Senate. In this matter, the Socialist groups met with the support of the Trotskyite traitors who were fulfilling the direct instructions of reaction and fascism.

Comrade Gitton, one of the Secretaries of the Communist Party of France, wrote the following in *l'Humanite* of March 26:

"At a time when the workers are advancing their just demands, agents of the employers, Trotskyites and other provocateurs are endeavoring to bring to naught the steadfast efforts of the unions to be fought. They are inciting the workers to 'take direct action,' preaching the refusal to pay union membership dues, advising the workers to pay no heed to the union leaders, spreading rumors designed to discredit the best and most active members of the working class, circulating leaflets without taking account of the existence of responsible workers' organizations. . . ."

The very same Trotskyite, provocateur elements, on the occasion of the meeting of solidarity with Spain held at the Buffalo Stadium and attended by 10,000 people, howled Jouhaux down when he attempted to speak. It was their intention by this vile act of provocation to set the leaders of the French unions against the Communist Party and to picture matters as though a split was about to take place in the ranks of the General Confederation of Labor. Enaf, the Communist Secretary of the Paris District Trades Council, made a speech at this demonstration in which he exposed the machinations of the reactionaries and their Trotskyite agents. The hopes of the reactionaries were in vain. After the meeting the Executive Bureau of the Paris District Council published a statement in which it declared:

"The Executive Bureau of the Paris District Trades Council . . . publicly and with the utmost vehemence exposes the incidents created at the beginning of the meeting by provocateurs and irresponsible elements endeavoring to cause a split at this meeting and to prevent the General Secretary of the General

Confederation of Labor getting a hearing.

"The Executive Bureau expresses its confidence, its utter devotion to the C.G.T., to its Executive Bureau and its General Secretary, and refuses to regard these incidents as other than a demonstration of enemies of the working class and their agents."

Leon Jouhaux reacted in the same way, when in an article entitled, "The Lessons of an Incident," published in *Peuple* of March 27, he stated:

"There are people who are endeavoring, and undoubtedly will draw conclusions that do not in the least correspond to its real importance from the one incident that took place yesterday during the meeting at Buffalo.

"Without waiting, I consider it necessary therefore to declare that no harm will be done to the working class unity established in the General Confederation of Labor. I declare to those employers who are fighting us, and to all their allies—overt and covert—in the camp of reaction, that they are mistaken again if they imagine that this incident is the forerunner of a split in our ranks."

Thus, the treacherous role of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism—that agency of fascism and reaction—was demonstrated once again.

At the same time, the Paris Metal Workers' strike showed that only the working class is really patriotic towards its country, and places the interests of the country higher than personal interests.

As an illustration of this, we may quote a letter of the workers employed in the Bleriot works to Blum and Daladier. In this letter, 1,400 workers reported that although a year had gone by since the plant was nationalized, nevertheless it had produced nothing of decisive importance for the defense of the country; that, providing it was rid of the old routine in production, the plant could be extended to employ 3,000 workers and could produce several dozen fighting planes per month. In addition they declared their readiness to work extra

hours for the defense of the country, and would work one hour daily without pay so as to enable planes to be sent to the Spanish Republican Army which was also defending the peace and safety of France.

The Paris metal workers' strike testifies to the need of maintaining working class unity at all costs.

The metal workers of the Paris District enjoyed the support of the Communist Party and the C.G.T., and so despite all the efforts of the reactionaries and their agents in the ranks of the working class, they finally secured the satisfaction of their just economic demands.

On April 15 the Ministry of Labor Parity Commission secured the signing of a collective agreement to cover the whole country. It regulates the work of airplane factories and guarantees all the privileges won by the working class in

1936. A similar agreement will be signed for the entire metal industry.

The strikers evacuated the plants and began to work, and the employers undertook to pay the workers wages for the period of the strike, and not to resort to any acts of repression against the strikers.

In connection with the end of the strike of the Paris metal workers, the Executive Committee of the Metal Workers' Union adopted a resolution which stated:

"... the conflict could have been ended on such terms at the outset of the strike. . . . The Executive Committee declares that the responsibility for such procrastination that injured the interests of the workers and of the whole country . . . lies entirely with the employers whose intolerance rendered it impossible to arrive at a speedier solution of the conflict."

International Solidarity With the Austrian People

REVIEW OF THE PRESS

HITLER and his adherents thought to deceive the world with their tales about "liberating our German brothers in Austria." But it is all too obvious that the armed fascist bands burst into Austria by force, seized hold of that country and suppressed its national independence. The national resources, industry and human reserves of Austria have been placed at the service of German imperialism.

The brass bands, displays and parades, organized by the fascists in connection with the "Anschluss" of Austria, the high-sounding speeches and false promises made by Hitler and Goebbels cannot drown the groans of indignation of the Austrian people. Everyone understands that by this brazen military rape of Austria, an old, cultured country has been wiped off the map of Europe. "The civilization of Europe," Romain Rolland wrote with every justification, "sees how the belly has given birth to barbarity."

The masses of the people of other European countries raise their voice in protest against the unheard-of violence visited out to the Austrian people, for they understand that the destruction of Austria's independence constitutes a menace to their own countries. The tremendous hatred of fascism is being transformed into a source of strength for setting the masses of people for the struggle against fascism.

The sections of the Communist International are in the front ranks of this movement of solidarity with the Austrian people.

"The Austrian people have lost their national independence and, like a colonial people, are being subjected to robbery by Hitler."

Thus writes the Communist Party of Germany in its recent appeal. And the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany wrote in its letter addressed to the Communist Party of Austria:

"It is with the greatest indignation that the German working class, the German people, dissociate themselves from this unprecedented violence committed by Hitler against Austria."

Thereby the Communist Party of Germany expresses the thoughts and sentiments of the German working masses, who see in the seizure of Austria the handiwork of the enemies of the German people. The same idea is expressed in a resolution adopted by the metal workers of several large plants in Berlin which states:

"It is a lie that enthusiasm reigns in Germany over the seizure and forcible 'Anschluss' of Austria. In actual fact the masses of the German people were filled with depression when they heard of this shameful fact. They feared that this marked the beginning of war. . . ."

Heinrich Mann, the prominent German writer, also raised his voice of protest against the forcible seizure of Austria. He wrote:

"How many countries, small or large, still wish to allow to pass through their

territory an aggressor who well knows the meaning of fear, but does not know the meaning of shame. Ten strong regiments really ready to shoot could drive this poisonous but cowardly reptile back to its lair."

The movement of solidarity with the Austrian people has taken on wide dimensions in Czechoslovakia which is under the immediate menace of Hitler Germany. Comrade Appelt, Communist member of Parliament, expressed the feelings and thoughts of the masses of Czech people when he declared in one of his Parliamentary speeches:

"We assure the Austrian people and particularly the Austrian working class of our fraternal solidarity. We undertake to do everything in our power in order to help them in their difficult struggle. . . .

"Our allies are the class-conscious workers, the masses of the people of all countries, who are rallying around the cause of peace and liberty; our allies are the masses of people of the Third Reich, who despite bloody terror, despite the most brutal persecution, are conducting a struggle for liberty, for peace. The German anti-fascists, the army of Thaelmann—these are the representatives of the real Germany who together with us are engaged in the fight against the war-mongers."

On March 12, the day when Hitler seized hold of Austria, mass solidarity meetings began in Prague. On the following days meetings took place at the big factories in Reichenberg. In the resolutions they adopted the workers protested most energetically against the occupation of Austria. The workers of the Feorster mills in Salzdorf demanded collective aid for Austria. Then there followed meetings and protest strikes in Merish-Schonberg, Gablonz, Kratzau, Grottau, etc. The workers of twenty large collieries in Brucks-Dukser province, of four large factories in Yaromir, also organized protest demonstrations. Mass meetings were held in Brunn, Belin and Radnice (Silesia). Twenty thousand demonstrated at Kladno. This was how

the working people of Czechoslovakia, in these meetings and demonstrations, expressed their solidarity with the Austrian people and their supreme determination to fight against the Brown plague,

The masses of people are increasingly demanding that all the democratic forces unite in order to increase the strength of resistance to fascism. This is also expressed in the press. The organ of the Czech Socialist (pro-Benes) railwaymen's union, comes out sharply against those party leaders who do not want to take account of the Communists in the question of defending the Republic. This paper writes: "We must join forces to deal blows against our enemy, international fascism, to prevent it crushing us."

Hitler's base attack on Austria evoked a wave of solidarity in France as well. At numerous mass meetings and demonstrations the French people expressed their sympathy with the oppressed Austrian people. All anti-fascists were united by the one idea that there must be an end to retreat, that the hour of the political Marne had struck.

In the name of millions of workers organized in the trade unions the Administrative Commission of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor) published a protest resolution against the fascist crimes in Austria. This resolution declared:

"We assure the Austrian people and particularly the Austrian workers of our sympathy. We raise our voice in a most energetic protest against the ferocity of the regime of violence introduced in Austria, and brand with shame all the mass arrests and brutal persecution that immediately followed the Hitler invasion of that country."

The Congress of the Alsace-Lorraine Metal Workers' Union which was held in Strasbourg declared in its resolution:

"The delegates of the Alsace-Lorraine metal workers protest with all their might against this new violent coup carried out by Hitler in Austria."

The Congress of Alsace Building Workers in a resolution it adopted expressed warm sympathy with all anti-fascist fighters and pledged itself to leave no stone unturned in order to destroy the dictatorship of the fascist hangmen.

A wide movement of protest was also organized by the International Peace Campaign founded by the late Henri Barbusse. The resolution adopted both by the leadership of this organization, as well as by local groups, expresses a protest against the Hitler policy of violence in Austria and demands of the respective governments the pursuance of a policy to save peace and liberty.

In connection with the Austrian events an appeal signed by thirteen writers belonging to various parties was issued, calling upon intellectuals to unite in the struggle against fascism. Romain Rolland associated himself with this appeal and wrote:

"If one but thinks of the power of the forces, both material and moral, that represent this world (of democracy), one has to blush at them, at their weakness. The absence of unity among them becomes transformed into the insolence and strength of the enemy."

This is how progressive writers reacted to Hitler's invasion of Austria. Mention should be made of a new feature

France, namely, that the Catholic masses also accepted the seizure of Austria as a warning signal. George Lefebvre, writing in the Paris Catholic paper *L'Aube*, and expressing the will of millions of French Catholics disgusted with the capitulation of the Austrian clergy to Hitler, wrote that: "All those who increase the menace to the cause of peace should be branded with shame."

Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris, was compelled to declare: "Our duty in this tragic hour is to express our most fervent and deep sympathy with Catholic Austria."

Especially profound was the indignation against the fascist occupation of Austria

among the masses of people in Alsace-Lorraine. In all large cities in many lesser localities huge demonstrations were organized by the trade unions, peace movement committees and People's Front committees.

A wide movement of solidarity also began in Britain. The Communist Party of Great Britain organized meetings, issued a manifesto, and a pamphlet by Harry Pollitt entitled *Austria*, of which over 100,000 copies have been sold. In this pamphlet, Comrade Pollitt describes the events in Austria and points out that the responsibility for the rape of Austria falls upon the Chamberlain government. Pollitt declared:

"We must help Austria and save Britain. . . In Austria Socialists, Catholics, Communists and all democrats are uniting to defend their independence. We must unite in Britain too, so that we can help them. . . If we, in Britain, can unite all the forces of democracy and peace, we can drive out the pro-fascist Chamberlain government and bring Britain's strength in with France, the Soviet Union and Republican Spain to stop aggression in Europe."

Mass meetings and solidarity demonstrations were held in England. These were organized by Communists, the Co-operatives, by the Labor Party, Liberals and peace movement committees. A mass demonstration took place in London on April 11 in which about 100,000 people participated. A big meeting, 40,000 strong, was held on March 13 in Trafalgar Square. A very imposing demonstration was also held in front of the German Embassy. In addition, mass demonstrations were held in Birmingham, Glasgow and Manchester. The *Manchester Guardian*, describing the demonstration in Manchester, declared that here for the first time something resembling a united front to achieve definite aims was established.

The movement of solidarity with the Austrian people in Britain has developed into a struggle against the Tory Chamberlain government, a struggle for a

democratic government capable of defending the interests of the British people.

Demonstrations and meetings of solidarity with the Austrian people were also held in the Scandinavian countries. A solidarity demonstration with 25,000 workers participating was held at Göteborg. This demonstration was organized by the workers' parties, trade unions and other democratic organizations. Of the other larger mass demonstrations mention should be made of the demonstrations in Stockholm, Copenhagen and Bergen.

In the United States a number of meetings were also held, convened by various organizations including the

American League for Peace and Democracy, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Young Communist League and bourgeois youth organizations. In Washington, D. C., the demonstrators marched past the German Embassy shouting the slogan: "Save Austria from the blood-stained hands of Hitler."

Throughout the whole world the people have reacted to the occupation of Austria by expressing their solidarity with the oppressed Austrian people. This solidarity movement must supply a new impetus towards the active development of the struggle of all forces of democracy and peace against blood-thirsty fascism and war, for united working class action, for the People's Front.

The Resolution of the Mexican Trade Unions Regarding Trotsky and Trotskyism

BY R. PAGE ARNOT

AT the First National Congress of the Mexican Confederation of Labor (C.T.M.) held in Mexico on February 1-25, 1938, a resolution was unanimously adopted denouncing the disruptive work of Trotsky and Trotskyism.

The resolution adopted is of signal importance not only for the struggle of the Mexican workers and for the building of the Mexican People's Front, but for the whole international fight against the danger of fascism and war. The resolution justly states that Leon Trotsky "revealed himself as the enemy of the working class of the world."

The Mexican Confederation of Labor had found by bitter experience that the wrecking activities of the Trotskyites were not confined to the U.S.S.R. They had found that wherever there is a struggle to build workers' unity and to create a People's Front against the danger of fascism and war, there the Trotskyite wreckers are busy in the service of fascism. It is known that the Trotskyite groups in the United States (Eastman, the Bukharinite Lovestone, the Schachtman group, etc.) are busy in their undermining and disruptive activity within the working class movement, and that in conjunction with the Canadian Trotskyites they have for a decade ceaselessly spread slanders against the U.S.S.R. and its leaders, against the Communist International and the Communist Parties of North America.

The Trotskyites use the resources of their patrons and masters—the fascists and the reactionary bourgeoisie—to rally

together groups and grouplets throughout the world. Comrade Stalin drew attention in his report at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (March 3-5, 1937) to this:

"We must destroy and cast aside the fifth rotten theory to the effect that the Trotskyite wreckers possess no more reserve, that they are mustering their last reserves."

In Latin America also the Trotskyites have begun to carry on their activities—and in the first place in Mexico which has become the base both for their operations now of long standing in North America and for new operations in Central and South America. The countries of Latin America, especially in the South, have for many years had inside the working class movements Anarchist elements, who, from their anti-Marxist views, are susceptible to the poison of Trotskyism, as the example of the P.O.U.M. influence over unstable sections of the Catalonian Anarchists has shown. There is also a very considerable petty-bourgeois element in the populations of Latin America, and these too are afflicted with the instability which can make them a prey to the false propaganda of the Trotskyites.

Lastly there is a large and growing emigration of Germans and Italians into South America, many of them emissaries of Hitler and Mussolini. A drive to the fascization of Latin American countries, already largely successful in the case of Brazil, is being steadily pursued by

their agents, who carry on demagogic propaganda against the domination of British and American capital. Thus in Latin America there is a situation of great danger for the maintenance of democratic rights both from the activities of the Trotskyite agents of fascism and from the fascist immigration.

Thus it is of the utmost importance that the working class of Mexico should have shown itself aware of the danger and that the delegates of the most important working class organization should have made this decision regarding Trotsky and Trotskyism.

The resolution was introduced to the First National Congress of the C.T.M. by the leaders of no less than ten of the largest national unions. These leaders, it may be noted, are none of them members of the Communist Party of Mexico. They even go out of their way to stress this, saying:

"In the name of the undersigned organizations we propose for the approval of this sovereign assembly the following statements and resolutions concerning Leon Trotsky. Veteran militants in the working class movement of our country, without ties to the Communist Party of Mexico or to the Comintern and, consequently, beyond suspicion of being Communists or sympathizers of the Communist Party, our words express the thoughts of the revolutionary masses in the C.T.M., with no other emotion save interest in truth and justice." *

All the more instructive is the C.T.M. resolution for the political parties and workers' organizations of other countries.

Then after referring to the capitalist press propaganda for Trotsky, the resolution reveals Trotsky as an inveterate slanderer, taking up in detail the falsification of the history of the C.P.S.U., spread by the Mexican section of the so-called Fourth International, and citing from the vicious attacks of Trotsky upon Lenin, dealing with Trotsky's treacherous policy to the U.S.S.R., they point out that:

"Trotsky collaborates with reaction in its offensive against the Soviet Union, selling his articles full of vituperation and calumnies for publication in the periodicals of Hearst and Macfadden, the standard-bearers of North American fascism, where they are used for editorial comments to demonstrate the failure, not of the Soviet Union, but of socialism in theory and practice." *

The resolution then repeats the basic points made in the declaration of the C.T.M.'s National Committee, when it was announced that Trotsky would reside in Mexico, as follows:

"The rumors reaching the National Committee, and which had been reported in the press, that Leon Trotsky would be permitted to settle in our country, have been confirmed by the government, which has declared that it has given its authorization on the formal request [of Trotsky], basing itself on respect for, and exercise of, the right of asylum, a right recognized in our legal system.

"In face of this accomplished fact, the C.T.M. considers it its duty to explain to the proletariat of our country and of the whole world, as well as to the other sections of society, what its opinion is and what its conduct will be concerning Trotsky's stay in Mexico.

"The C.T.M. is not against the right of political asylum. It considers it as one of the most worthy conquests of which international law, which is so weak, can boast. For this reason the C.T.M. has resolutely defended this right, advocating that asylum be given in our country to the victims of reaction and imperialism. Consequently, the C.T.M. favors the right of asylum from the viewpoint of its revolutionary position.

"In the concrete case of Trotsky, the C.T.M. leaves responsibility for his presence in Mexico to the government, which has given its permission. . . .

"Trotsky and his followers fight for self-sufficiency of the working class and combat all temporary alliances of the proletariat with the other exploited sections of the population and with democratic governments in order to oppose

* *Labor Condemns Trotskyism*, p. 5, International Publishers, New York.

* *Ibid.*, p. 15.

the advance of reaction and fascism, while the C.M.T. has resolved to build the Mexican People's Front with the organizations representing the political and peasant sector of our country, uniting the middle class, petty-bourgeois and student organizations to adhere to this platform. . . .

"Rejection of the People's Front in Mexico, which Trotskyism proclaims, is not only against the special interests of the working class, but also against the normal fulfillment of the government's program and the general interests of the nation, which, in view of its semi-colonial character, needs the support of all the oppressed sections of the population more than others." *

These forecasts, says the resolution, proved to be true, for Trotsky's activities as leader of the international of spies and their repercussions in the country. The reactionary press of Mexico had attacked the government of Spain and all Mexicans who aid it." The government of General Lazaro Cardenas, which it material help in aid of the Spaniards, was similarly attacked.

At this moment," says the resolution, when the Spanish government is being ended with the blood of the whole Spanish people against the aggression of Mussolini and Hitler," Trotsky "raised his voice not to accuse fascism" but to unite with the Mexican supporters of fascism in an attack on the Mexican government.

Again and again that enemy of the people, the arch-bandit Trotsky, acts as a traitor agent. By his stupid slander he deceives himself, and this is understood by the workers of Mexico. The Mexican people can be proud to support this progressive act of their government in giving help to Spain, whose cause they have recognized to be "the cause of all oppressed and progressive mankind." On the other hand it can be seen that to support Trotsky in Mexico operating against the democratic government which has supported Spain is a direct advantage to Hitler and Mussolini.

The resolution therefore correctly states:

"It is not only a reflection of his international activities which affect us directly, but Trotsky also participates in Mexico's internal affairs. On November 2, 1937, Trotsky addressed an open letter, in Spanish, 'To All the Working Class Organizations.' A little later, he sent a letter to the Mexican Confederation of Workers."

In one of these letters Trotsky had vilified Toledano, General Secretary of the C.T.M., and in this connection had spoken of sowing "in all working class organizations a rule of rigid distrust." From this the resolution concludes that:

"... the aim of the letter of Trotsky, as far as the C.T.M. is concerned, is to sow confusion in our ranks, defaming our General Secretary and asking his organization to expel him from its midst.

"In view of the above, it is necessary to state anew the position of the C.T.M. in regard to Trotsky:

"1. Leon Trotsky and his followers falsify facts when they assert that Trotsky is the continuator of Leninist theory. Trotsky never was a genuine Marxist-Leninist.

"2. Trotsky acts, at least objectively, in complicity with international fascism.

"3. Trotsky is an enemy of the People's Fronts, and particularly of the peoples of Spain and China who are fighting at this time against fascism.

"4. Trotsky participates in the internal problems of Mexico as an enemy of the unity of the working class.

"5. Trotsky, by all his activity regarding the fundamental problems of the historic period, has revealed himself as an enemy of the working class of the world.

"6. The C.T.M. Congress adopts as its own all the declarations of Comrade Lombardo Toledano and the National Committee of the C.T.M. concerning Trotsky and Trotskyism.

"7. Comrade Lombardo Toledano is the genuine representative of the Mexican proletariat."

This resolution was adopted by ten of the biggest unions. There was not a single voice against this resolution. One

of the delegates proposed the following amendment:

"That the Congress goes on record to demand from the government that Trotsky be *expelled* from the country should he again interfere in Mexico's internal affairs."

By the unanimous vote of over 4,000 delegates the resolution was passed as amended. The Mexican workers, through the Mexican Confederation of Labor, have shown themselves aware of the danger of Trotskyism.

But what of other countries? Is the danger of Trotskyism any less in Norway or in Belgium or in Britain or in other parts of America? In all these countries the organization of spies headed by Trotsky is active in the service of fascism. In all these countries the Trotskyites endeavor to penetrate into the working class organizations for purposes of disruption, and receive the

aid of bourgeois newspapers which have in more than one instance turned out to be on the payroll of Hitler and the reactionary bourgeoisie.

Hand in glove with the fascists, the Trotskyites seek to prevent the coming together of the forces which in unity can defeat the onset of reaction, fascism and avert world war. Yet it cannot be said that the trade unions in other countries of bourgeois democracy have shown sufficient awareness of all the dangers of Trotskyism. Yet the danger of Trotskyism is greater in these other countries. For there are reactionary trade union leaders who try to lull the vigilance of the workers, who take it on themselves to defend the Trotskyites, and to use Trotskyite slanders in their enmity to the U.S.S.R. There is therefore all the more need for the trade unions of other countries to become alert to the danger, and to follow the instructive example of the Mexican Confederation of Labor.

The Friends and Enemies of the Soviet Union on the Trial of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"

BY G. FRIEDRICH

THE reaction to the trial of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" has shown who are the friends and who the enemies of the Soviet Union, as well as the forces of war and the forces of peace.

On the one hand we have the masses of working people and their press demanding for peace, for liberty, against the monstrous crimes of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" and their fascist masters, for the cause of all advanced mankind; on the other hand, those who defend the Trotskyite murderers and wreckers, who openly or in a masked way declare for fascism, for a blood-thirsty war of plunder.

In connection with the twentieth anniversary of Soviet power Comrade Dimitroff wrote:

"You cannot carry on a real struggle against fascism if you do not render all possible assistance in strengthening the most important buttress of this struggle—the Soviet Union. You cannot carry on a serious struggle against the fascist agitators of a new world bloodbath if you do not render undivided support to the U.S.S.R., a most important factor in the maintenance of international peace. You cannot carry on a real struggle for socialism in your own country if you do not oppose the enemies of the Soviet Union, where this socialism is being fulfilled by the heroic efforts of the working people. You cannot be a real friend of the U.S.S.R. if you do not con-

demn its enemies—the Trotsky-Bukharinite agents of fascism."*

Now, in connection with the facts disclosed at the trial of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," these words sound even more convincing. The Moscow trial of the Right and Trotskyite conspirators has shown that it is not a mere "home" affair of the Soviet Union, a so-called "purely Russian affair" that is at issue but that the Soviet court has exposed an international counter-revolutionary plot which, while directed against the Soviet Union—the land of socialism—was by reason of this a conspiracy against the vital interests of the whole of working mankind, against democracy and progress.

How did the masses and press react to this trial?

First of all it must be said that this, the third trial of traitors to the socialist fatherland, was much better understood by the broad masses of working people and was far more correctly reflected in that section of the bourgeois-democratic press which sincerely stands for democracy and peace.

The enemies of the Soviet Union and the press that is hostile to the U.S.S.R.,

* See "The Soviet Union and the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries," in *The Communist International*, No. 12, 1937.

despite all their howls of fury, were compelled to take the defensive during the Moscow trial. They were compelled to do so because they were themselves exposed as confederates and accomplices of the accused, because the advanced labor press—primarily the Communist press—was able to take up a correct line from the very beginning of the trial, bringing forward convincing political and psychological arguments and taking the offensive against the enemies of the Soviet Union, against those who were pleading the cause of the Right-Trotskyite bandits.

A considerable part of the Communist press, primarily *Frente Rojo* (Barcelona), *l'Humanite* (Paris), *Voix de Peuple* (Brussels), the *Daily Worker* (London and New York), and the Czechoslovak Communist papers *Rote Fahne* and *Rude Pravo* (Prague), devoted a great deal of space to news of the trial, and in dealing with the trial drew an absolutely correct parallel between the facts of murder, espionage, wrecking and acts of diversion, uncovered at the trial, and the events taking place in their respective countries.

Thus, the *Voix du Peuple*, organ of the Communist Party of Belgium, wrote the following in reply to the slanderous attacks of the Social-Democratic *Peuple* against the Soviet Union:

"Exactly like the Cagoulards of France, the accused at the Moscow trial were the lackeys of the darkest forces of international capitalist reaction. Like the Cagoulards they operated by terrorist methods. . . . It is always the same: all open or masked enemies of the Soviet Union hasten to the aid of their confederates who have been compromised."

It was in the same spirit that Marcel Cachin branded the French Trotskyite Souvarine who (and this is no accident) published his vile stories about the trial in the arch-reactionary paper *Figaro*.

Cachin wrote in *l'Humanite*:

"... German and Japanese espionage employed the same tactics in the Soviet

Union as have been adopted everywhere by Hitler's, Italian and Japanese police since the time the fascist governments began openly preparing for war."

The progressive press correctly referred to the example of Spain and pointed out that had the government of the Spanish republic adopted in good time a similarly decisive and relentless attitude towards the Spanish conspirators dressed in the uniforms of generals of the Spanish Army, and their accomplices, as was done in the U.S.S.R.; had the fascist conspirators been destroyed in Spain, then perhaps the fatal words of "a cloudless sky over all Spain" which were flashed over the radio on July 18, 1936, would never have become the signal for a military-fascist rebellion and for the terrible war that for almost two years has covered Republican Spain with blood and threatens the entire world. Hence the Communist *New Day* (Stockholm) was absolutely correct when it wrote:

"Friends of peace, friends of liberty and socialism no longer fall so easily into the trap of the malicious slander spread against the Soviet Union. They now know that if Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and the other capitulators had been victorious, there would be no Soviet Union today, there would be no gigantic socialist construction, there would be no Red Army, but there would be a capitalist Russia. They know what significance the land of socialism and the Red Army have for the defense of peace. He who defends the tool of fascism, defends fascism itself."

Such articles, also extracts from the testimony of the accused themselves at the Moscow trial, and reports from the court room by foreign press correspondents helped the advanced people of capitalist countries to see where the truth lay, despite the continuous stream of lies and all the poisonous slander used against the Soviet Union by the fascists, the Trotskyites and their special pleaders, the reactionary leaders of the Labor and Socialist International.

One must be very naive indeed to be-

re that fascism, which sends out and
ruits agents in all countries of the
ld, had for some reason or other ne-
cted the Soviet Union in this respect.
The hostile, anti-Soviet press also tried
mislead their readers by hypocritical-
declaring that it was both improbable
d impossible that the accused, such
d revolutionaries" or "old Bolsheviks,"
re capable of the actions and crimes
h which they were charged. The Com-
nist press in the capitalist countries
lained how absurd it would be to con-
er the accused, many of whom were
-confessed agents of the tsarist secret
ce (Zelensky, Ivanov and others) and
majority of whom were spies of
y standing (Rakovsky, Krestinsky,
rnov and others) to be old revolu-
aries or Bolsheviks to boot. It is a
wn fact that all the foremost par-
nants of the "Bloc of Rights and
tskyites," even while they were in
ranks of the Communist Party, re-
ed to double-dealing and hypocrisy
atched a plot against the Bolshevik
ty, against Lenin, Stalin and Sverd-
s for treachery—it is to be found
only in the Soviet Union.

Everybody knows that Mussolini, Do-
Souvarine, and many other traitors
ayed the working class and socialism
became fascists. The history of the
ish labor movement also supplies
y examples of such treachery. Mos-
ia former member of the British In-
ndent Labor Party, is now the leader
he British fascists; J. Ramsay Mac-
ald was leader of the Parliamentary
or Party in 1922, and nine years later
me head of the "National Govern-
t"; Pilsudski also came from the
s of Polish Social-Democracy. It is
mate for the people of the U.S.S.R.
for the whole of progressive man-
that the organs of proletarian dic-
rship and Soviet justice stand on
d over the land of socialism, and
with such traitors firmly and con-
ntly.

A characteristic feature is that it is
sely the renegades of the labor

movement who conduct the most mali-
cious slander against the Soviet Union,
and that it is precisely they who raise
the question of whether it is possible for
former Communists to become class ene-
mies. Their own personal example is the
best reply to this.

How pitiful were the arguments em-
ployed by the reactionary leaders of So-
cial-Democracy in their campaign of
slander against the U.S.S.R.! The press
controlled by reactionary Social-Democ-
racy literally competed with the fascist
press in directing a stream of filthy
slander and lies against the Soviet
Union. The anti-Soviet newspapers
maintain complete contact with each
other, and the material for the poisonous
slander against the U.S.S.R. is apparent-
ly supplied from one center.

Proof of this can be found in the
following fact: the Dutch Social-Democ-
ratic paper, *Het Volk*, published an
anti-Soviet item in the form of an inter-
view of its Paris correspondent with a
certain Krivitsky; only two days later
the same interview could be read in the
fascist *Berliner Boersen-Zeitung* with
the characteristic note that "as reported
by the Social-Democratic *Het Volk* . . ."
The infamous *Deutsche Allgemeiner Zeit-
ung* also published this slanderous in-
terview, naming its original source as
the White Guard emigré paper *Poslednie
Novosti*.

Thus we see the following circle: Some
literary hack in the pay of Goebbels, to-
gether with some Russian White Guard,
concocts a lying story about the Soviet
Union which appears in a White Guard
sheet. This slander against the Soviet
Union looks so appetizing to some So-
cial-Democratic journalists that they de-
clare that their Paris correspondent
personally interviewed this Krivitsky.
And then the fascist press republishes
this lie, invented by its own figure-
heads, from the Social-Democratic *Het
Volk* in order to be able to say to its
readers, who only have access to the fas-
cist press: "See what the Social-Democ-
rats themselves write against the So-
viet Union." This is how the arrows

directed against the Soviet Union are poisoned.

As soon as the first testimony was heard at the trial of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," a whole stream of "refutations" appeared. Lady Paget hastened to declare that although she had met Rakovsky in Tokyo she had conducted no political conversations with him. It would indeed be ridiculous to think that Lady Paget would broadcast to the whole world that she is an agent of the Intelligence Service.

That notorious Menshevik and godfather of Chernov's in the German Secret Police, Dan, went so far as to make the statement that he did not even know his friend Chernov. Other "refutations" denied even things that no one ever asserted. Thus the "foreign delegation" of the Mensheviks denied that Rykov was a contributor to the newspaper *Menshevik* (as is known from the court proceedings, Rykov supplied anti-Soviet materials to the *Sotsialisticheski Vyestnik*). It stands to reason that such "refutations" can be made with absolute safety because, first, no one ever made such an assertion, and, second, such a newspaper as the *Menshevik* does not exist at all. The aim of such "refutations" is clear to everybody. The international bourgeois press naturally seized on these statements and immediately published them without questioning their reliability.

Naturally such leaders of the Labor and Socialist International as Fritz Adler, Citrine and their ilk could not but be in the ranks of the defenders of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." They were brazen enough to raise their voice in defense of agents of the tsarist secret police, of the murderers of Gorky, Kirov, Kuibyshev and Menzhinsky, in defense of the organizers of attempts on the lives of Lenin and Stalin, in defense of spies and diversionists, agents of the fascist warmongers.

The Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International and the leaders of the International Federation of Trade Unions sent a telegram in defense of the accused Trotskyite-Bukhari-

nite bandits. But no one gave the signatories of this telegram, Citrine, Schevenels, De Brouckere and Adler, the right to speak in the name of the working class masses and in the capacity of advocates for the paid agents of German fascism and the Japanese military clique. In doing so they did not ask the opinion of the workers and Socialists. For example, did the Spanish Socialist Party, which is waging a really heroic struggle against the Hitler forces of intervention, instruct Citrine and the others to undertake this shameful mission?

What is the reason and the explanation of all these "refutations" and "declarations"? They are to be explained by the fact that the willing or unwilling confederates in the villainous crimes wish to mislead the masses, to confuse them, so as to emerge from this whole affair unstained.

The campaign of the reactionary leaders of the Labor and Socialist International against the U.S.S.R. pursued the definite aim of conducting a struggle against the united and People's Front. The enemies of the People's Front wanted to utilize this trial in order to deepen the split in the working class and in this way to weaken the anti-fascist ranks. Therefore *l'Humanité* was perfectly right, in replying to the anti-Soviet campaign conducted by the French Socialist Party and Leon Blum, in raising the following question:

"What then are they striving for? Do they want a split in the People's Front at a time when unity is more necessary than ever before, at a time when the unity of all the forces of the People's Front is the most vital need for the realization of the common program? . . . The masses of the people will not permit this fatal alternative."

The truth of this statement of *l'Humanité* and the degree to which it corresponds with the actual situation were shown by the mass workers' meetings and the protests of the working people against the anti-Soviet campaign of the fascists and the reactionary leaders of

Social Democracy. Thus, the French Chemical Workers' Federation, which has a membership of 180,000, adopted a resolution of protest against the conduct of Citrine and others. This resolution, which expresses the indignation of thousands of workers, points out:

"... that Citrine and Schevenels ... have overstepped their authority and do not speak on behalf of the millions of working people, whose representatives they pretend to be. This personal position of theirs is one of hostility towards the cause of international unity."

Day after day the Communist press published protests against the anti-Soviet campaign.

In many cities of Europe—Paris, Prague, Amsterdam, etc.—mass meetings of workers were held at which telegrams of greetings to the Soviet government and Vyshinsky, State Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., were adopted. The workers correctly pointed out in these telegrams that the blow delivered against the spies and traitors to the socialist fatherland was a blow against fascism and a service to the cause of peace. The Young Communists of one of the Paris suburbs wrote in a letter to Comrade Yezhov:

"Your firmness and unceasing vigilance have led to the exposure of these base agents of fascism. ... We assure you of our full confidence in the justice of the people, which gives the traitors the punishment they deserve."

All the genuine friends of peace, all honest democrats—workers and intellectuals—unhesitatingly acknowledged the political significance of the Moscow trials in the defense of peace. They understood that the exposure and destruction of murderers and traitors are an expression of the strength of the Soviet Union, and they defended this viewpoint against all wavering and spineless elements. Ziromsky, one of the leading figures in the Socialist Party of France and the French People's Front, declared in connection with the trial that the defense and protection of the Soviet Union are the class

duty of the entire world proletariat. Henri Sellier, Socialist Senator and former French Minister, published a statement during the trial in which he declared:

"More than ever before am I convinced that it is the duty of all working people ... all democrats ... all pacifists ... to rally around the Soviet Union, which at the present moment is the only reliable bulwark against capitalist dictatorship and the warmongers. ... We call upon those who are disgusted with the monstrous impunity of armed insurrectionists in our country, those who understand how far this impunity menaces the national safety of our country, to defend the great socialist revolution against those who constantly slander it."

However, not only do such statements serve as an expression of the real sentiments of the masses; note also must be made of such statement as those published in the *Prager Presse*, the Czechoslovakian government organ, which even before the trial was over correctly pointed out that the plot, in significance and scope, was not limited to the Soviet Union.

"Had this conspiracy succeeded," wrote the *Prager Presse*, "and had it been carried out only by the forces of the conspirators in the Soviet Union, even in that case it would have had far-reaching repercussions abroad."

This rather original diplomatic formulation expressed the fear which is peculiar to the small states confronted with the danger of fascist aggression, for a weakening of the Soviet Union would signify the strengthening of the fascist offensive against the independence of the small states for whom the great Soviet Union is the only genuine guarantee of peace.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to cite all the examples of the way the press reacted to the trial of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." We wish only to add the position taken by that prominent American writer, Upton Sinclair. In an open letter to Eugene

Lyons, a writer hostile to the Soviet Union, Upton Sinclair wrote:

"From my point of view, the Russians have been at war during the past twenty years. It has been not merely a war of blockade, of intrigue and sabotage and spying and wholesale lying, it has also been a preparation against military attack, a mere lull between battles. I have known for twenty years that the Russians were going to be attacked again. . . . I have told them that on every occasion and have never blamed them for defending themselves and preparing for further defense. . . .

"And now have come Mussolini, and then Hitler, and then the Mikado. I used to be asked, during our EPIC campaign, to define fascism, and my answer was, 'Fascism is capitalism plus murder.' A year or more ago, addressing the Western Writers' Congress, I made a statement that 'Al Capone is a scholar, a statesman, and a gentleman compared with the men who are running Italy and Germany today.' The events which have come to our unhappy world since that time caused me to add Franco and the Japanese gangsters to that list. . . . You can barely dispute the fact that . . . if the reactionaries can have their way in Spain and in China, they will be that much nearer to their final goal, the destruction of collectivist institutions in the Soviet Union."*

In another section of this letter Sinclair used the following words about the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union, about the aid rendered by the U.S.S.R. to Spain and China and of the peace policy of the Soviet State:

"I say that friends of progress have no choice whatever except this choice:

* *Upton Sinclair on the Soviet Union*, pp. 6-8. Weekly Masses Co., Inc., New York.

do you want to see the Soviet Union overthrown, or do you want to see Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and Araki overthrown? That is the question of our time for every Socialist, every progressive, and every friend of mankind."*

The trial of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" and the verdict in this case of assassins and spies have shown that the organs of proletarian dictatorship stand on guard not only over the peoples of the U.S.S.R. but also over the people of the entire world against their bitterest enemies. The open trial and the verdict in the case of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"—a defeat for the fascist and imperialist war plans against the Soviet Union—were joyfully greeted by the workers and friends of peace in all countries, for they saw in them a guarantee that the Soviet Union remains an invincible barrier against fascism and a mighty bulwark of peace and liberty throughout the world. The trial and verdict were met with wrath and fury by those who wish to bring about the outbreak of a world war, by those who serve the fascist warmongers. This is what Comrade Dimitroff referred to when he said:

"The *historical dividing line* between the forces of fascism, war and capitalism on the one hand, and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism on the other hand, is in fact becoming the *attitude* towards the Soviet Union, and not the formal attitude towards Soviet power and socialism in general, but the *attitude* to the Soviet Union which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty years already, with its untiring struggle against enemies, with its dictatorship of the working class and the Stalin Constitution, with the leading role of the Party of Lenin-Stalin."

* *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Read More About

M A R X I S M - L E N I N I S M

in Hundreds of Books, Pamphlets, Magazines for Sale at These Book-stores and Literature Distribution Centers

Aberdeen, Wash.: 115½ West
Heron St.

Akron: 39 E. Market, Room 303

Baltimore: 501a N. Eutaw St.

Berkeley: 2475 Bancroft Way

Birmingham: 1907 N. 5th Ave.

Boston: 8 Beach Street

Butte: 119 Hamilton St.

Cambridge: 19 Dunster St.

Camden: 304 Federal Street

Chicago: 200 West Van Buren
1326 East 57th St.

Cincinnati: 540 Main St.

Cleveland: 1522 Prospect Ave.

Denver: 522 Mining Exchange Bldg

Des Moines: 218 Youngerman Bldg.

Detroit: 2610 Clifford St.

Duluth: 28 East First St.

Grand Rapids: 319 Bridge St.

Greensboro, N. C.:
315½ So. Elm St., Rm. 6

Hollywood: 652 N. Western Ave.

Indianapolis: Meridan Life Bldg.,
Room 401

Los Angeles: 226½ S. Spring St.
2411½ Brooklyn Avenue

Madison, Wisc.: 521 State St.

Milwaukee, Wisc.:
914 N. Plankinton Ave.

Minneapolis: 631 Third Ave., So.

Newark: 216 Halsey St.

New Haven: 38 High Street

New Orleans: 130 Chartres St.

New York: 50 East 13th St.
920 Prospect Ave., Bronx
365 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn

6th St., Boardwalk,
Brighton

1309—44th St., Brooklyn
4531 16th Ave., Brooklyn

Oakland: 491 10th Street

Oklahoma City:

129½ W. Grand Ave.

Omaha: 301 Karch Block

Paterson: 201 Market St.

Philadelphia: 104 So. 9th St.

Pittsburgh: 508 Court Place

Portland, Ore.:

323 S. W. Salmon St.

Providence: 335 Westminster St.,
Room 42

Racine: 205 State Street

Reading: 224 North Ninth Street

Richmond, Va.: 301 No. 1st St.

Sacramento: 1024 Sixth St.

St. Louis: 3520 Franklin Ave.

St. Paul: 26 E. 4th St.

Salt Lake City: 74 W. 1st, So.

San Diego: 635 E St.

San Francisco:

170 Golden Gate Ave.

1609 O'Farrell St.

121 Haight St.

15 Embarcadero

San Pedro: 244 W. Sixth St.

Santa Barbara:

208 W. Canon Perdido

Seattle: 701 Pine St.

Spokane: 114 No. Bernard

Superior: 601 Tower Ave.

Tacoma: 1004 Tacoma Ave.

Toledo: 214 Michigan

Washington, D. C.: 509 G St.,
N. W.

Youngstown:

114 E. Federal St.


Write for a complete catalog to any of the above addresses or to

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D

New York, N. Y.

NEW BOOKS

On the  **INTERNATIONAL** List

Life of Lenin

By P. KERZHENTSEV

A new, popular and authoritative biography by a veteran Soviet journalist and historian.

336 pages \$1.75

The Communist International

By V. I. LENIN

Writings and speeches on the Third International. Volume X of the Selected Works of Lenin.

\$2.00

Have you ordered your copies of these indispensable companion volumes?

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

By EARL BROWDER \$2.25

THE UNITED FRONT:

Problems of Working-Class Unity and the People's Front

By G. DIMITROFF \$2.00

For Summer Reading—

THE SPIDER AND THE CLOCK

\$1.35

by S. FUNAROFF

Collected Poems of a Leading Proletarian Poet

THE WAY THINGS ARE

\$1.50

by ALBERT MALTZ

A book of stirring stories of the class struggle in the U. S.

•

Order from your bookshop or from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D

New York City